

NOTES  
ON  
THE EARLY HISTORY,  
THE GEOGRAPHY,  
THE LANGUAGES & DIALECTS,  
THE BRAHMANS & SANSKRIT LITERATURE,  
OF  
BRITISH BURMA  
BY  
EM. FORCHHAMMER, PH. D.  
1883—85

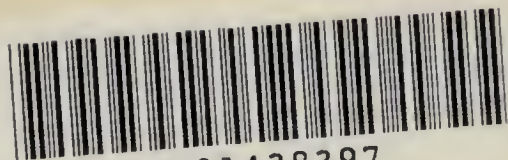
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THE EARLY HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY  
OF  
BRITISH BURMA

BY

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I.--THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA.

RANGOON:  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.  
—  
1883.



O. T. P.

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NOTES  
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I.—THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA.

THE early history of Burma, though hazy it be and interesting more to the student of ancient and forgotten lore than to the historian in search for trustworthy data, discloses firmer outlines and more substantiality than at first is apparent, when the collateral evidences of the histories of India, China, and Ceylon are brought to bear upon it. Already have the researches of Sir Arthur Phayre, Colonel Yule, and the Rev. Bishop Bigandet to a considerable extent redeemed the Native records from the discredit into which they had been brought by the sweeping condemnation of superficial writers.

The feature which in Burmese and Talaing records has been considered most detrimental to their claim to historical soundness is the tendency to connect the foundation of the principal cities and pagodas in Burma with events in the life of pre-historic Buddhas, of Gotama and his pupils. Instead of discarding such connections as entirely illusory we shall, in the following pages, have occasion to point out that they are at least no intentional prevarications of historical realities on the part of the authors, but that, in many instances, they are based upon broad statements in the Tipitaka themselves and in the old commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla.

Historical memory must needs be very shortlived among nations and tribes in which political power and supremacy are not the natural result of a stable government and a higher degree of civilization, but are held temporarily as the immediate issue of a prosperous campaign, to be lost again with the next defeat ; where the national mind found but brief respites to expand and realize itself in external tokens and creations of its power, and where even these memorials are swept away by the renewed inroads of an enemy. The maritime provinces of Burma have been for the last



eight centuries the scene of struggles for supremacy between the Burmans and Talaings. The victor destroyed the towns, fortifications, and religious buildings of the vanquished foe only to be served with a like measure of retribution when the latter again had found concert and strength under the cover of a feigned submission. It was the Talaings who suffered the last crushing defeat at the hands of the Burmans before the British conquered both. Alompra consigned the Talaing literature to the flames, defaced their inscriptions, prohibited the use of the Talaing language, and destroyed every town and village that ventured to oppose his progress. The Talaings of today have nearly merged with the Burmans, their own vernacular is almost forgotten, their literature has not been rewritten, and their history and traditions are nearly effaced from their memory.

This change is the work of little more than a century. A few other instances of the shortlived historical memory of the nations under consideration may here be given.

The celebrated jurist, Buddhaghosa, lived at the close of the 15th century A.D. His career was similar to that of his still more renowned namesake, Buddhaghosa, the commentator who lived in the 4th century after Christ. Both went to Ceylon to study the Buddhist scriptures and both returned thence to Rāmaññadesa (Burma). But at present the jurist has ceased to exist in the memory of the Burmans as a separate individual; he has been merged with the theologian into one personality, and hence we find in Native records that "the great teacher Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon "to study the scriptures and to write commentaries thereon; he "brought not only the sacred books to Rāmaññadesa, but also the "law book known as the *Manu Dhammasattham*: he was learned in "both the divine and the secular law." The jurist Buddhaghosa only translated the Talaing *Manu* into Burmese, but it has much gained in sanctity and importance by having become connected with the greatest divine of the Buddhist Church, who, however, antedates the said translation by 12 centuries.

In the latter half of the 17th century a Burmese nobleman received from his sovereign the honorary title of "Manu;" he wrote the *Mahārājadhammasattham*; his wise decisions and some episodes in his life have been recorded. A century later the jurists of Ava and Amarapura had apparently forgotten him and ascribed the celebrated seven decisions, given by the Burmese *Manu*, and which are now mentioned at the beginning of every Burmese *Dhammatthat*, to the Hindu *Manu*; they blended the known events of the life of the first with the few mythical legends preserved in Burma concerning the Hindu lawgiver. The royal records of



Burma however mention the Burmese Manu of the 17th century and confer upon him the honour of having written the original Code of Manu, whereas the author of the *Manusārādhmmasattham*, written only a century after the Burmese Manu wrote, cannot refrain from expressing his doubt as to the correctness of this statement and is of opinion that the original Manu must have lived in India.

It has at all times been a custom with the Buddhist Kings and priests of Burma to give to towns, monasteries, rivers, and tanks classical Pali names. Many names of places in India which had been rendered sacred by some event in the life of the 25 Buddhas, their pupils and attendants, became the appellations of localities in Burma. *Ramapura* for instance, and *Amarapura*, *Khemapura*, *Dhaññavatī*, *Hamsavatī*, *Rakkhapura*, *Kusimanagara*, *Dvāravatī*, *Amaravatī*, *Saddhammanagara*, &c. The name *Saddhammanagara* was given to the oldest town founded by the Talaings, namely, Thatôn (Satôn), which is nothing but a Talaing corruption of *Saddhamma*: early European travellers called it Xatan or Satan. In the 14th century, that is, about a thousand years after the foundation of *Saddhammanagara*, the Talaings, after a long subjection to the Siamese and Burmans, rose once more to national independence. The religion of Sakyamuni and the study of the Holy Scriptures revived. The classical names of many places in Burma had been preserved, but the circumstances of their erection were forgotten. Buddhist priests, learned in the scriptures but unacquainted with the history of India and its ancient geography beyond the knowledge that Benares, Kāsi, the Ganges, and Jamuna were not to be found in Burma, wrote national histories and were naturally anxious to gather and give information touching on the early history of their national capitals.

Thatôn, the ancient *Saddhamma* or *Sudhammanagara*, is, according to Talaing and Burmese records, the birthplace of Sobhita, the sixth Buddha, the son of the Kshatriya *Sudhammo* and his wife *Sudhammā*. Asamo and Sumetto were his chief disciples, and Anumo his attendant; he is said to have lived 90,000 years, and Thatôn is therefore the eternal and holy city of the Talaings and Taungthus. The name of the first Buddha, *Dīpankara*, is likewise sacred to the memory of the Natives, because two merchants, *Taphussa* and *Bhallika*, supposed to have been Talaings, were the first lay pupils of *Dīpankara* and of *Gotama*: to them is also ascribed the erecting of the original *Shwe Dagôn* pagoda.

*Nārada*, the ninth Buddha, was born at *Dhaññavatī*, the original name of Arakan and of the region about Twantè; he was the son of the Kshatriya *Sudevo* and his wife *Anomā*; his chief pupils were *Bhaddasālo*, *Jitamitto*, *Uttarā*, and *Phaggunī*. *Hamsavatī* (Pegu)

is said to have been the birthplace of the tenth Buddha, Padumutara, the son of Ānando and his wife Sujātā.

Sona and Uttara were in a former existence the disciples of Vessabhū, the twenty-first Buddha; they were the first Buddhist missionaries who came to Suvannabhūmi (which included Thatôn), having been sent there by the president of the III Buddhist Council held under King Asoka.

Kakusandha, the 22nd Buddha, was born at Khemavatī, the Pali name for a town in Arakan; he was the son of the Braman Aggidatto and his wife Visākhā. Kassapa, the 24th Buddha, who preceded Gotama, converted, according to the records of the Burmans and Talaings, numberless devas in Sudhammapura, which is Thatôn.

Now, are the above asseverations in the Native records mere pious inventions of their authors? We shall in the sequel see that though they may be illusory yet the historians did not invent them but drew from sources the sacredness of which they would have violated by any doubt in their veracity. The Burmese and Talaing histories are all comparatively modern; they have no annals which can vie with the hoary antiquity of the Ceylonese Mahāvamsa and Dīpavamsa. The Native historians had no ancient records to consult, and the chequered career of the nations whose history was to be recorded had left few landmarks of the past.

The sources from which the Native writers have drawn their material for the early history of their country are the Buddhist scriptures written in India, with the compilation of which the Burmans and Talaings had nothing to do; they were arranged long before the latter had become historical nations. The early events of the history of British Burma have little or no concern with the races who now are predominant in this province; they form essentially a part of the history of Hindu colonies in Suvannabhūmi.

We now proceed to examine those portions of the Pitaka which appear to contain references to localities in Further India and which were utilized by the compilers of the Native records.

The Buddhavamsa is the 14th book of the Khuddakanikāyo, the 5th section of the Suttapiṭakam, which is the second of the three "baskets" constituting the Buddhist canon. The work is ascribed to Gotama himself.

fol. khī. Nagaram Rammavatī nāma Sudevo nāma khattiyo, Sumedhā nāma janikā Dīpankarassa satthuno.

Translation: "The mother of the teacher Dīpankara was named Sumedhā; (his father was) a Kshatriya called Sudevo of the city Rammavatī."



Rammavatī is one of the classical names of the old capital of Arakan.

fol. khī. Taphussa-Bhallikā nāma ahesum aggupatthakā, Sirimā Sonopatthikā Dīpankarassa satthuno.

Translation : “ Taphussa-Bhallikā were the chief attendants of the teacher Dīpankara; Sirimā and Sonā (were also) his attendants.”

fol. khī. Nagaram Rammavatī nāma Sunando nāma khattiyo, Sujatā nāma janikā Kondaññaassa Mahesino.

Translation : “ The mother of the great teacher Kondañña was Sujatā; (his father) the Kshatriya Sunando (was) of the town called Rammavatī.”

fol. kho. Sudhammam nāma nagaram Sudhammo nāma khattiyo, Sudhammā nāma janikā Sobhitassa mahesino.

Translation : “ The mother of the great sage Sobhita was Sudhammā; (his father) the Kshatriya Sudhammo (was) of the town called Sudhamma.”

We have already mentioned that Thatôn is a corruption of Sudhamma.

fol. gā. Nagaram Dhaññavatī nāma Sudevo nāma khattiyo, Anomā nāma janikā Nārādassa mahesino.

Translation : “ The mother of the great saint Nārada was Anomā; (his father) the Kshatriya Sudevo (was) of the town called Dhaññavatī.”

Dhaññavatī is the classical name of Arakan and its capital, and also of Twantè.

fol. gī. Nagaram Hamsavatī nāma Ānando nāma khattiyo, Sujatā nāma janikā Padumuttarassa mahesino.

Translation : “ The mother of Padumuttara was called Sujatā; (his father was) the Kshatriya Ananto of Hamsavatī.”

Hamsavatī is the Pali name of Pegu. Padumuttara is the 10th Buddha; his chief disciples were Devalo, Sujāto, Amitā, and Asamā; his attendants, Sumano, Vitiṇṇo, Tisso, Hatthā, and Vicittā.

fol. ghe. Sono ca Uttaro c’eva ahesum aggasāvakā, Upassanto nām’ upāttako Vesabhussa mahesino.

Translation : “ Sona and Uttara were the chief pupils, Upassanto the attendant of the great saint Vessabhū.”

Vessabhū is the 21st Buddha. Sona and Uttara, in a former existence the chief disciples of Vessabhū, became afterwards the first Buddhist missionaries to Suvannabhūmi.

These extracts from the Buddhavamsa, which was written in India, leave no doubt that the Native historians wrote their records in perfect good faith. It remains to be investigated whether the

places mentioned in the Buddhist canon do or do not refer to localities in ancient Suvannabhūmi, or whether the connection of the history of Dhaññavatī, Sudhamma, and other towns, with real or mythical personages of early Buddhism, are not historical afterthoughts without any historical reality.

We must however here mention that names occur in the ancient geography of British Burma which are originally not Pali but Sanscrit, and suggestive more of ethnical and historical relations with Hinduic India than with Buddhism. Such names are *Asitañjana*- or (*Asitañjana*-) nagara, the name of an ancient town to the north-west of the Shwe Dagôn pagoda; *Utkaladesa* (*Ukkala*), the original name of a Hindu settlement extending from Rangoon to Hamsavatī; *Trikumbhanagara* (*Tikumbha*), a later name of a town situated on the hills close to the present town of Rangoon; *Golanagara*, the Gauda town, the Takkala of the 16th century, the present Ayet-thima, a settlement about 20 miles north of Thatôn.

In the preceding pages we have conclusively shown that Native records are greatly indebted for information on the early history of Burma to annals of Buddhistic India; we now proceed to examine the relation of Burmese inscriptions to some passages in the *Tipitaka* and the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Buddhaddatta, written in the 4th century after Christ.

On the eastern slope of the hill upon which the Shwe Dagôn pagoda stands, and about 50 feet below the present platform, are three large stone inscriptions. Three years ago they were buried under ground: by removing some shrubs and bushes I discovered the tops of these stones just peeping an inch or two out of the ground; they stand upright and about 2 feet apart. I had the earth removed all around and between the inscriptions, and at a depth of about 12 feet I reached the sockets of the stones embedded in a layer of bricks, which presented a smooth surface to the full extent of the ground exposed, namely, an area of 15 feet by 8 feet: the earth removed consisted of pieces of old bricks, gravel, clay, and fragments of pottery; it nowhere exhibited traces of geological formation.

The terrace, at the foot of which the stones with the inscriptions are still standing, and which rises to a height of about 50 feet, is an artificial elevation, erected in the beginning of the 16th century by the Talaing Queen Shinsawbū. The Shwe Dagôn pagoda, as we now see it, was completed by the successor of Alompra about the year A.D. 1770. The pyramid rises from the carefully levelled surface of this artificial terrace to a height of 321 feet. The inscriptions were engraved by order of the Talaing King Dhammaceti in the year of the Burmese era 847 (A.D. 1485) In the Kalyāni



inscriptions of Pegu it is stated that this King sent 11 rahans, with as many probationers, to Ceylon to receive upasampada at the hands of the inmates of the Mahāvihāra, their ordination having been pronounced invalid by the King through not having been conducted in accordance with the precepts of the *Vinaya*. He met the returning priests at Tikumbhanagara (Rangoon), presented the Tikumbhacetī with a large bell, and made rich offerings to the monasteries attached to the sanctuary. After the consecration of the Kalyāṇisīma at old Pegu he had the Shwe Dagôn Pagoda repaired and the inscriptions set up. Though the pagoda is said to have been founded before Gotama had reached Parinirvāna, yet these inscriptions are the most ancient remains that have as yet been discovered on or about this sanctuary. Like all Talaing inscriptions, they face the north and stand on what I believe to be the ancient original platform of the stupa, visited and repaired by Dhammacetī. Around this pagoda, which is doubtless still standing and which is said to contain in precious vessels eight hairs of Gotama and other relics, the queen Shinsawbū raised a square terrace 50 feet high, 900 feet long, and 685 feet wide, and erected a new pagoda above the old stupa. The stone slabs measure 12 feet above the socket, 3 feet 10 inches in width and 10 inches in thickness; both sides are covered with inscriptions in Talaing with a Burmese translation so arranged that the side of the stones facing the north contains the Talaing text and the side facing the south the Burmese nissāya. Large pieces of the stones have been broken off and can not be found; the inscriptions are therefore incomplete; the letters are square (but not the "square Pali" form) and each occupies the space of half an inch; each line contains from 70 to 80 letters and each side from 36 to 45 lines.

In the Burmese text the sign for the heavy accent (ရှေ့ပေါက်) is seldom used: မင်းကြီးကြောင်းလည်းကောင်းများပြီးစုရားသွားသုံး &c., &c., are spelled မင်ကြိ ကြောင် လည် ကောင် မျာပြီးစုရားသွားသုံး; the အောက်မြစ် or light accent occurs rarely; for the present ဝိုဆိုသို့နှင့် we find ဝိုဆိုသို့နှင့်.

The following peculiarities in spelling deserve being mentioned: ဟရာသိင် for ဖုရားသိင်; ရှယ် (ruay) for ရှိ (yuay); ကြာ (tra, law) for တရား; သျင် (shin, lord), for ရှင်း; သျှင် (shit, eight) for ရှင်; ရှိခိုခို for ရှိခိုး (shiko, to worship), and occasionally ကိုဝ် for ကို (ko), and ဝိုဝ် (plural particle) for ဝို; ဟွာ (hla) for လာ (to come). There are a few and unimportant deviations from the present mode of writing. The text, where readable, offers hardly any difficulties to the decipherer. This is also the oldest inscription in which final palatals appear in pure Burmese words. Palatals as finals are phonetically impossible in most Indo-Chinese languages; they do not occur in Burmese inscriptions of the 13th and 14th centuries; they

have been introduced merely as a graphical convenience to indicate that a preceding vowel is to be pronounced *i* and not *a*, and arose from the habit of the Burmans to sound, in reading Pali words, every *a* before a palatal as *i*: *pinsa* for *pañca*; *thissa* for *sacca*. Final *c* originated, when the symbolic vowel sign for *i* followed by ဝိ, ဝိ, ဝိ, and final nasals, passed over to the diphthongal *ei*, ဝိဝိ, zeit, ဝိဝိ, meit, from Pali citta and mitta: *a* before palatals in Pali words are in the Talaing idiom always pronounced *a*; *i* before a final consonant remains *i*; ဝိန, arsenic, is pronounced *zin* in Talaing and *zein* in Burmese. The Talaing alphabet, from which the Burmese is borrowed, has no final palatals in pure Talaing words. The Burmans were driven to adopt them in order to gain the means of indicating the presence of a pure *i* vowel preceding a final: in this case ဝိ(z) has been substituted for a final ဝိ, ဝိ, and ဝိ(k, t, p); the latter retain their phonetic value though written ဝိ, but a preceding *a* vowel is pronounced *i*. I give below the Burmese text of the inscriptions of the Shwe Dagôn pagoda as far as it is recoverable. The original spelling is retained, and the number of dots between the Burmese words indicate the conjectural number of letters obliterated. The length of a complete line is 3 feet 10 inches:—

*1st line*; 2 feet 6 inches missing to left.

ကဝိနတ်နွတ်.....ကောင်ကျတ်သည်.....လတ်ရယ်ကသပရသျှင်....

*2nd line*; 2 feet 5½ inches missing to the left.

ဝိဝိ.....လတ်.....ခွဲ".....ကိုပုရာသိခင်သပ္ပညက.....လျှင်လုပ်ငသို"

*3rd line*; 2 feet 3 inches missing to the left, ½ inch to the right.

သညှမှဖြစ်ရသောသုကြ.....နွတ်ကညီအစ်ကိုဖြစ်လွှာ.....မသ.....

*4th line*; 2 inches missing to the right, 2 feet 3 inches to the left.

သော"သိအစ်ကိုနှစ်ယောက်သညှပါဆံဟုပါသောလှေကောင်.....စရယ်ဝံ....

*5th line*; 1 foot 8 inches missing to the left, 2½ inches to the right.

ဝဲသိင်နောက်လေရယ်" ဥက္ကလာ ရဇက.....သော ရာ ဇာကိုတပြီ သောမျှာစွာသော.....  
....ဖြစ်.....

*6th line*; 1 foot 7 inches missing to the left, 2½ inches to the right,.....သ.....သိုနောက်လေရယ်"ထိုဥက္ကလာရာဇ် ကုမ်ရှောင်....ထိုတပြီ သော မျှာစွာ သောဥက္ကလာဖြစ်.....

*7th line*; 1 foot 6 inches missing to the left, 3 inches to the right.

လိက်"ညီအစ်ကိုသည်ကြံစွာသောအ.....ရကုသိုက်ကို.....ရယ်ပန္နရ(?)ကိုပုရေသောပုဂ္ဂိုလ် ဖြစ်သောကြော.....

*8th line*; 1 foot 3 inches missing to the left, 3 inches to the right.

သမိသည်ချင်.....င်.....သ.....ရှာကိုချပ်ရယ်မရာသျှင် အ ရှေ့ဦ စွာအာ ပဏ္ဍပတ်တိုလွှာ မိမသောကို....ဘုန်သောစ.....

*9th line*; 1 foot missing to the left, 3 inches to the right.

....ညီသောညီအစ်ကိုလွှာသောကုန်သည်နှစ်ယောက်သည်" ထိုဘုမ္မာမိနတ်သမီး၏စကားကိုကြ ရယ်"အာဟာရကျတ်အသည်မှုကို.....



10th line ; 9 inches missing to the left, 4 inches to the right.

.....ဝ.....ခင်မရိတ္တိကတည်ဟူသောဗျာ.....လတ်တင်လယ်နှ.....သောမရ  
ဆုပ်ကိုလည်ကောင်ရွှလင်ပန်ဖြင်ယူရယ်ဖရာသိခင်အထံသိုဟူ.....

11th line ; 5½ inches missing to the left, 6 inches to the right.

ဝ်ကိုဝ်အာအခါမြီ.....ပယ်စွာစီစွာချတ်(?).....အံသောဌာအသွန်ရုပ်တိုလှသောမန္တကို  
လည်ကောင်မရိတ္တိကလည်ကောင်ခံတော်မူသောဟူ.....

12th line ; 2¾ inches missing to the left, 4 inches to the right.

.....သောအနောက်မာချောင်ရာနှိုက်....ကာရယ် သွာသည်, လှသောသ....တ်သည်.....  
သုဇာတာ....သောနွာနိစရာတိုစသောရယ်နှိုက်လျှင်ကွယ်နယ်ပြီရှေ့ဦးလုနီ.....

13th line ; 2 inches missing to the left, 6 inches to the right.

.....တိုင်လမ်သည်လည်သျှလှသောအာဟာရဆုံကိုလ.....လျှင်....ခရ..... တဖဿဘလိ  
ကမည်သောကုန်သည်နှစ်ယောက်လှသောအာဟာရဆုံကို....

14th line ; 6 inches missing to the right.

.....တရခိုက်လျှင်ဇာခရအမည်ရှည် လရယ်ဖရာသိခင် အာရှ လမ်တော် အကြွဖြစ် လတ်  
သည်။တိုင်ရဌာ(?)ခါစတုမဟာရဇ်နတ်မင်လေယောက်သည်ဖုရာသိခင်ငှလမ်....

15th line ; 6 inches missing to the right.

.....ထံရယ်ကျောက်သပိတ်လေလုပ်ကိုယူရယ်.....ဖရာသိခင်ထံလည်၊ ထိုစတုမဟာရဇ်  
နတ်မင်လေယောက်တို့အားကြံစွာသော....ကိုင်ဖြစ်မိသော....

16th line ; 5½ inches missing to the right.

.....ရယ်စတုမဟာရဇ်နတ်မင်လေယောက် လာသောသ ပိတ်လေလုပ်ရပ်တိုလျှင် ခံတော်မူ  
ရယ်အောက်အထက်.....သပိတ်ထလမ်တည်ဖြစ်စေသောဟူရယ်အမိဌာန။.....

17th line ; 5 inches missing to the right.

ဖြစ်စေ၏။တိုင်ခံရနှိုက်သောတဖဿဘဗ္ဗိကကုန်သည်နှစ်ယောက်သည်။ ဖုရာသိခင်၏  
သပိတ်တောနှိုက်။မန္တမရိတ္တိကကို.....နေလည်ဆောင်ခယ်ရယ်ဖုရာသိခင်အ....

18th line ; ½ inch missing to the right.

....ဖုရာသိခင်ကိုရှိခိုင်ရယ်ဘင်သွားသောအရပ်နှိုက်ရေတု....ရယ်ဖရာသိခင်....ကြာဟောတော်  
မူပေ၏။ဖုရာသခင်ကြဟောတော်မူဆပ်ချင်တိုနှစ်ယောက်ရပ်ဗုဒ္ဓသရဏ်ဂစ္ဆာမိဓမ္မသရဏ်ဂစ္ဆာမိ  
ဟူသောနှစ်ရန်ဖြင်သရဏာရှိခိုင်ယ....

19th line ; 6½ inches missing to the right.

....ကာဖြစ်တန်ရယ်ဖရာသိခင်တိုနှစ်.....သျှင်ပင်ဖုရာအကျွန်ုပ်တိုင်ထားရာမညသောနှိုက်အ  
သိတညနနဂိုင်မည်သောပြည်နှိုက်နေသောသုသည်အဘျန်အရပ်....

20th line ; 6¼ inches missing to the right.

လေထို အကျ.....တိုင်ပြည်သို....ဘျန်လေ သောထိုအ ကျန်ရပ်တို နရပ်နှိုက်နေ  
သောအကျန်အရပ်တိုင်သည်သျှင်ပင်ဖုရာ.....၏

21st line ; 1 inch missing to the right.

.....ကိုလျှင်ပေတော်မူ.....နေသောဟူရယ်တောင်ပန်ကုန်၏ ဖုရာသိ ခင် လည် လက်တ  
လက်တော်ဖြင်ခေါင်တော်ကိုသပ်ရယ်ဆံတော်သျှစ်ချောင်ကိုရရယ်.....တဖဿဘ...

22nd line ; 1 inch missing to the right.

နှစ်ယောက် အားပေတော်လေ၏ထိုတုန်သည်နှစ်ယောက်လည်။ မိမိခေါင်....နှိုက်ရွှကြက်  
ဖြင်တိုင်ဆံတော်သျှစ်ချောင်ကိုခံနယ်။လုပ်ဆောင်အပ်သောမိမိဘိ,.....

23rd line ; ½ inch missing to the right.

....ညိုပြီးဘုပြီးသော.....ဖြစ်လတ်ရယ် ဥက္ကလရဇ်သိုနောက်သော....သဗ္ဗဒ္ဓရာကိုဝ်ကလက်  
ရယ်အသိတညနနဂိုင်မည်သောမိမိအရပ်သိုနောက်ပြန်လက်(?)တုမ်၏....

24th line ;  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch missing to the right.

အရပ်သို့နောက်ပြန်လွှာသောအခါ လုတကာတို့ အပေါင် အား ကုသိုဉ်ကောင် မှအ.....  
အသဖြစ်ပါစေလိုသောကြောင့် မိမိသွားရာရာမှစော အသောဌာဆံတော် နှစ်ချောင်ကိုထာရယ်  
ဆံတော်....

25th line.

မြောက်ချောင်ကိုရွှေကြိုတ်နှိုက်တည်ရယ်။ အသိတညနနဂိုဉ်၏အရှေ့မျက်နှာနှိုက် ရှိသော။  
တ....ဣတောင်ထိပ်တက်နှိုက်ထာပနာရယ်စေတီလည်ကောင်စေတီ....၇ကို....

26th line.

လည်ကောင်....ရပ်ပူဇော်ကုန်၏။ သွားရာရာဆောင်အဟူရယ်သင်ထိုင်ဆံတော်နှစ်ချောင်  
ထိုင်တမူကား။ချင်.....ဝိ၏မေလျှောသောအဖြစ်လိုကြည်ရယ်....သရမည်....

So far the text is readable ; the lines further down are almost entirely obliterated ; as every line, the last two excepted, is broken off at one or both ends, and many letters in the remaining portion effaced, a word-for-word translation yields little sense. We can, however, glean the following general meaning :—Parathaking (Buddha), the all-knowing, went to the Linlumpin (*i.e.* , Rājāyātana tree) (line 1)...One day two brothers came (3 line) with a large boat loaded with rice (2 line)...from the kingdom of Ukkala to trade (5 line) : these two brothers were very religious and sought to increase their merit by many offerings. A fairy, once their relative, said to them (8 line) “ search for the Parathaking, who has for the first time ” (obtained Buddhahood).....The two brothers, who were merchants, when hearing the words of the Nat daughter (9 line) repaired to Buddha and laid honey-cakes adorned with golden flowers before Parathaking.....and said (11 line) “ accept of “ us the rice-cakes and honey-cakes that rich blessing may accrue “ to us from this offering ” .....The food offered by the two merchants, named Taphussa and Bhallika (13 line).....The four Mahārājakings brought four bowls made of stone (15 line) and placed them before Buddha and said .....and when the Mahārāja nats had given the four stone bowls, Parathaking effected a miracle (16, 17 line) by converting the four bowls into one bowl, and then the two merchants placed the rice-cakes and honey-cakes in the bowl and Parathaking partook of the offering ; and when he had finished his repast (18 line), the two merchants paid homage to him, and Buddha preached the law to them. After listening to the discourse of Gotama, they bowed down in reverence to Buddha and the Dhamma (19 line) (the Sangha did not then exist). The two brothers then returned to Rāmaññadesa to the city Asitañjana (20 line), after having obtained from Parathaking eight hairs from his head ; these they enshrined, after their return to their native country, in the thapana of a pagoda, which they had erected for this purpose, on the top of the Tamagatta hill lying to the east of Asitañjana.”



Such is the account given in the Shwe Dagôn inscriptions and in all Native historical records with regard to the origin of the stupa.

We meet in the inscriptions with the following geographical names :—Ukkalā, Asitañjananagara and Rāmaññadesa. Of Rāmaññadesa we shall speak further on. Ukkalā (*Utkala*) is the classical name of Orissa and of a people inhabiting that country. But it is also the name of an ancient Hindu colony, probably founded by the Utkalas, which comprised the region south and south-west of the extreme Pegu yoma.

This name is still applied to the low land extending from the foot of the Shwe Dagôn hill westward to the Irrawaddy river. After the foundation of the town of Pegu (7th century A. D.) the appellation Ukkalāmandala changed to Hamsavatimandala. Asitañjananagara, or Asitañjananagara, was the first and original name of a town lying to north-west of the sacred hill.

The voyage of Taphussa and Bhallika gains considerable interest by being mentioned in the Rājāyatanakathā, the third kathā of the Mahāvagga, the third book of the Vinayapitakam, the text of which has been settled at the earliest Buddhist councils. I give here the full text:

“Atha kho bhagavā sattāhassa accayena tamhā samādhimhā vutthahitvā Mucalindamūlā yena Rājāyatanam ten’ upasamkami, upasamkamitvā Rājāyatanamūle sattāham ekapallankena nisīdi vimuttisukhapatisamvedī tena kho pana samayena Taphussabhallikā vānijā Ukkalā tam desam addhānamaggapatipannā honti. Atha kho Taphussabhallikānam vānijānam ñāti sālohitā devatā Taphussabhallike vānije etad avoca ayam mārīsā bhagavā Rājāyatana-mūle viharati pathamābhisambuddho, gacchatha tam bhagavantam manthena ca madhupindikāya ca patimānetha tam vo bhavissati dīgharattam hitāya sukhāyā’ti atha kho Taphussabhallikā vānijā manthañ ca madhupindikañ ca adāyā yena bhagavā ten’ upasamkamimsu upasamkmitvā bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantam atthamsu, ekamantam thitā kho Taphussabhallikā vānijā bhagavantam etad avocum patiganhātu no bhante bhagavā manthañ ca madhupindikañ ca yam amhākam assa dīgharattam hitāya sukhāyā’ti; atha kho bhagavato etad ahosi na kho tathāgatā hatthesu patiganhanti. Kimhinu kho aham patiganheyham manthañ ca madhupindikan cā’ti; atha kho cattāro Mahārājano bhagavato cetasā cetoparivitakkam aññāya catuddisā cattāro selamaye patte bhagavato upanāmesum idha bhante bhagavā patiganhātu manthañ ca madhupindikañ cā’ti, patiggahesi bhagavā paccagghe selamaye patte manthañ ca madhupindikañ ca patiggahetvā ca paribhuñji. Atha kho Taphussabhallikā vānijā bhagavantam onītapattapānim veditvā

bhagavato pādesu sirasā nipatitvā bhagavantam etad avocum ete mayam bhante bhagavantam saranam gacchāma dhammañ ca, upasāke no bhagavā dhāretu ajjatagge pānupete saranam gate'ti; teva loke pathamam upāsakā ahesum dhevācikā."

*Translation.*—"Then the Blessed One, at the end of those "seven days, arose from that state of meditation and went from the "foot of the Mucalinda tree to the Rājāyatana (tree). When he had "reached it he sat cross-legged at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree "uninterruptedly during seven days enjoying the bliss of emancipa- "tion.

"At the time Taphussa and Bhallika, two merchants, came travelling on the road from Ukkala (Orissa) to the place. Then a deity, who had been (in a former life) a blood-relation of the merchants Taphussa and Bhallika, thus spoke to the merchants Taphussa and Bhallika: 'Here, my noble friends, at the foot of the 'Rājāyatana tree, is staying the Blessed One who has just become 'Sambuddha. Go and show your reverence to him, the Blessed 'One, by (offering him) rice-cakes and lumps of honey. Long will 'this be to you for a good and for a blessing.'

"3. And the merchants Taphussa and Bhallika took rice-cakes and lumps of honey and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectively saluted the Blessed One, they stationed themselves near him; standing near him, the merchants Taphussa and Bhallika thus addressed the Blessed One: 'May, O Lord, the Blessed One accept from us these rice-cakes and 'lumps of honey that that may long be to us for a good and a 'blessing.'

"Then the Blessed One thought 'the Tathāgatas do not accept ' (food) with their hands. Now with what shall I accept the 'rice-cakes and lumps of honey!' Then the four Mahārāja gods, understanding by the power of their minds the reflection which had arisen in the mind of the Blessed One, offered to the Blessed One from the four quarters (of the horizon) four bowls made of stone (saying) 'May, O Lord, the Blessed One accept herewith the rice-cakes and the lumps of honey.' The Blessed One accepted those new stone bowls, and therein he received the rice-cakes and honey-lumps, and those, when he had received, he ate.

"And Taphussa and Bhallika, the merchants, when they saw that the Blessed One had cleansed his bowl and his hands, bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One and thus addressed the Blessed One: 'We take our refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One 'and in the Dhamma; may the Blessed One receive us as disciples 'who, from this day forth while our lives last, have taken their refuge ' (in him).' These were the first in the world to become lay disciples



(of the Buddha) by the formula which contained (only) the dyad" (Dr. Oldenberg's *Mahāvagga* and *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIII, pages 81 to 84).

From a comparison of the contents of the Shwe Dagôn inscriptions with the Rājāyatanakathā of the Vinaya, it is apparent that the two accounts are identical, with the notable exceptions, however, that the former identifies Ukkala with Rāmaññadesa and that they mention Asitañjananagara, the conversion of the four stone bowls into one, the presentation of the eight hairs to Taphussa and Bhallika, and the deposition of these hairs in a pagoda near Asitañjana in Ukkaladesa.

Rāmaññadesa comprised originally only the region between the Sittang river and the Salween. The predecessor of Dhammacetī, who had the inscriptions engraved, gave to the three provinces Ukkala- (or Hamsavatī-) mandala, Kusimamandala (Bassein), and Muttimamandala (Martaban) the collective appellation Rāmaññadesa. From the extension of the geographical meaning of Rāmaññadesa King Dhammacetī could without impropriety identify Ukkala with Rāmañña because the former constituted a portion of the latter.

The above identification may be an historical afterthought historically untrue, of which we have so many instances in Native records. The Burmans maintain that by 'Aparantaka' of the *Mahāvamsa* (p. 71, f. 3: tath' Aparantakam Yonadhammarakkhitānāmakam) Burma is meant, and consequently the thero Yonadhammarakkhito is their earliest Buddhist apostle. The Native Shan histories are not acquainted with the priest Mahārakkhita, who was sent from the III Council held under Asoka to the Yona country (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 71: Mahārakkhitatheran tu Yonalokam apesayi).

The Native name of the Shan and Laos States is Jōn (၂၀နီႈ), and from the similarity of yōn with yona, the Burmese historians of the close of the last century concluded that the *Mahāvamsa* refers under Yona to the Shan States, and begin the history of the Tai principalities with the advent of Dhammarakkhithero in Zimmay, which view the Shans, who are under Burmese supremacy, have since adopted. Accordingly the *Milindapanha* containing the controversy between the Yona king Mahinda and the priest Nagasena, is by the Burmans and Shans considered as the first contribution by the Shan ancestors to the Pali literature. Mahinda has been converted into a Shan prince and Nagasena into a Shan priest, the mentioning of Alasadda, (Alexandria?) the capital of Yona, notwithstanding (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 171: Yonanaggarālasanna Yonadhammarakkhito thero timsasa-

hassāni bikkhu ādāya āgama). The conversion of the Shans to Buddhism has been accomplished in but recent times. The identification of the Ukkala in the Mahāvagga with the Ukkala in Rāmaññadesa may be a similar afterthought based upon the similarity or identity of names.

Our inquiry naturally leads us to consult the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa's commentary to the five Vinaya books. The great Buddhist divine lived in the 4th century A.D. The Talaings claim him as their countryman; that he returned from Ceylon to Rāmaññadesa underlies no reasonable doubt; the "schismatic wanderer over Jambūdīpa" would certainly have given us whatever additional information the traditions of his times possessed regarding the earliest lay pupils of Gotama.

The *Samanta-pāsādikā* repeats (fol. chā) the story of Taphussa and Bhallika with nearly the same wording as the *Rājāyatana-kathā*, but adds that they were two brothers (Taphusso ca Bhalliko ca bhātārā); that Gotama converted the four almsbowls into one (Bhagavato ..... cattāro pi patte yatthā eko va patto hoti tathā adhitthahi; catunnam pi ekasadisō puññavipāko ahosi); that Gotama passed his hand over his head and gave them some hairs to be kept as relics (atha Bhagavā sisam parāmasi kesā hatthe laggimsu, te tesam adāsi 'ime tumhe pariharathā' ti. Te kesa-dhātuyo labhitvā .... pakkamimsu'). The commentary mentions nothing of Ukkala, except that the two merchants came from and returned to that country. The Burmese Nissāyo translates "Ukkaladesa" and "Ukkalajanapada" with "ဥတ္တရဝဠာသေသနဂဏ္ဍီယ" ဝဏ္ဏသေသနဂဏ္ဍီယ : "the country called Ukkala is the Pegu (Hamsavati) of the present day."

The visit of Taphussa and Bhallika to the Rājāyatana tree is also mentioned in the *Anguttara-nikāya*, the fourth book of the *Suttapitakam*. In the *Etad-aggō vaggō* the two merchants are mentioned as the first lay pupils of Gotama :

"Etad-aggam bhikkhave mama sāvakānam upāsakānam patha-mam saranam gacchantānam yadidam Taphussa-Bhallikā vāṇijā." Buddhaghosa's commentary to the *Anguttaro-nikāya* contains all the details given in the Shwe Dagôn inscriptions. We cannot value this passage too high considering that it was written 15 centuries ago by the greatest divine of the Buddhist Church, a man in full possession of all the traditional learning of his time.

Ekanipātanguṭṭara-atthakathā : "Taphusso ca Bhalliko cāti "ime dve vāṇijā aggā (sabbapathamam saranam gacchantānam) ti "dasseti. Ime kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Hamsavatiya kulagehe "patisandhim gahetvā aparabhāge Satthu dhammadesanam sunantā "satthāram dve upāsake pathamam saranam gacchantānam agga-



“ *thāne thapentam*, *disvā adhikārakāmmam* *katvā thānantaram* *patha-*  
 “ *yimsu*. *Te kappasatasahassa devamanusesu samsaritvā amhākam*  
 “ *Bodhisattassa sabbaññutañānam* *pattato pūretaram* *eva Asitañjana-*  
 “ *nagare kutumbiya gehe nibbattimsu*; *jetthabhātiko Taphusso nāma*  
 “ *ahosi, kanittho Bhalliko nāma*. *Te aparena samayena gharavāsam*  
 “ *vasantā kālena kālam pañcasakatasatāni* *yojapetvā vanijjākammam*  
 “ *karontā caranti*.” [“ The two merchants Taphussa and Bhallika  
 “ were the most prominent (of those who first embraced the religion  
 “ of Buddha). Traditions relate that during the era of the Buddha  
 “ Padumuttara these two brothers were born into a high family in  
 “ the kingdom of Hamsavatī; that subsequently they saw, while  
 “ listening to the Excellent Law, two upāsakas become the first de-  
 “ votees to Buddha’s religion; and witnessing the honour that  
 “ accrued to them from this step, the two merchants offered a prayer  
 “ to the effect that (in a future existence) the honour of becoming a  
 “ Buddha’s first pupils may fall upon them. The two brothers  
 “ then passed innumerable kalpas through deva and manussa  
 “ worlds and when our Bodhisatto (Gotama) had attained Buddha-  
 “ hood they again took birth in the family of a rich landholder of  
 “ Asitañjananagara. The elder brother was named Taphusso and  
 “ the younger brother Bhalliko; they both married and travelled  
 “ about as traders with 500 waggons.”] The text then continues  
 “ to describe the interview of the two merchants with Gotama under  
 the Rājāyatana tree; the wording is the same as in the Rājāyatana-  
 kathā and the commentary which we have cited on pages 11 and 14.  
 With regard to the gift of the hairs to Taphussa and Bhallika the text  
 says: *Satthā dakkhinena hatthena sīsam parāmasitvā dvinnam pi*  
*janānam atthakesadhātuyo adāsi*. *Te ubho pi janā tathā te dhātuyo*  
*suvannasamugge thapetvā attano nagaram netvā Asitañjananaga-*  
*radvāre jivakesadhātucetiyaṃ patitthapesum*. [“ The great teacher  
 “ then passed his right hand over his head and gave to the two men  
 “ eight hairs as relics: the two men put these hairs into a golden  
 “ casket and bringing the same to their own home deposited the  
 “ hair-relics in a pagoda erected for that purpose at the gate of the  
 “ town Asitañjana.”]

The statements of the Shwe Dagôn inscriptions are thus borne out in every detail by the Buddhist scriptures and Buddhaghosa’s commentary. The story of Taphussa and Bhallika occurs again in the *Theragāthā*, the eighth book of the *Khuddakanikāyo* (*Suttapīṭakam*), in Buddhaddatto’s commentary to the *Buddhavamśa* and in Buddhaghosa’s commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgani*, the *Atthasālini* which was written before Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon. The commentator connects Taphussa and Bhallika with the birth of Padumuttara, the tenth Buddha, in Hamsavatī, and this connection was

probably suggested by the gāthā in the *Buddhavamsa* already quoted:

“Nagaram Hamsavatī nāma Ānando nāma khattiyo, Sujātā nāma janikā Padumuttarassa mahesino.”

The *Mahāvagga* and its commentary state that the two merchants came from Ukkala, and in the commentary to the *Anguttaranikāyo* Buddhaghosa names the city from which they came and where they erected the pagoda after their return, namely, Asitañjana, which was the name of an ancient town on the hills north-west of the Shwe Dagôn pagoda in Ukkaladesa, the later Hamsavatī. There can be no doubt that Buddhaghosa refers in the cited passages to Further India and not to Orissa, and in the face of the unanimous statements of the Native histories, the details of the Shwe Dagôn inscriptions, the evidences adduced from the Buddhist canon, the commentaries written in India, and the total absence of rival claims or representations to the contrary, no reasonable objections can be raised in connecting the foundation of the Shwe Dagôn pagoda with Taphussa and Bhallika and to receive the existence of Asitañjananagara in Ukkaladesa in the 5th or 6th century before Christ as an accredited fact in the early history of British Burma. The Shwe Dagôn Thamain and other Native histories give a full account of the voyage of the two merchants, their return, and of the building of the pagoda on the Singuttara hill to the south-east of Asitañjananagara. But otherwise the geographical notions of these records are of comparatively modern date. They state that to the east of the sacred hill was situated the town Rammavatī, to the south Dhaññavatī, to the west Adhipaccayā, and to the north Ukkala. But this was the political division of the country after the 14th century A. D. Adhipaccayā does not appear in the history of Burma before the close of the 12th century; it was then the capital of Dala, which latter was also called Pokkhara, the low land extending from the Rangoon river to Bassein. The name Pokkhara is still preserved in the Talaing-English corruption of (China) Bakeer (river) and occurs as “Bacala” (King of Bacala) in the narratives of early European travellers to the East. Ukkalanagara was situated on the Kokain hills. Rammavatī, a city near Rangoon, was founded in the 13th century by the successor of Anawratha.

The original name of the Shwe Dagôn pagoda was Singuttaracetī. For many centuries after its foundation nothing is recorded in Native histories of this sanctuary. In the 13th century a town, apparently a Hindu settlement, is mentioned as lying on the two hillocks, one now crowned with the elephants' sheds and the other by a small Tamil settlement; they form, with the elevation upon



which the Shwe Dagôn pagoda stands, a complex of three hillocks, which are shaped like the frontal bone (kumbha) of an elephant. Kumbha is frequently used in the sense of a small, round-topped hill, and Trikumbhanagara means "the three-hill city." In the Kalyāṇi inscriptions the Sanscrit Trikumbhanagara and the Pali Tikumbhanagara occur.

Aramaññaṃ changed in Talaing to Arum, Sudhamma to Thatôn, and Tikumbha to Tikun. In older manuscripts the intermediate form Tikum appears. The Muns, so fond of cerebrals, converted the dental *t* to the cerebral *t*, the following *i* changed to the transitional vowel *u* (like *u* in English *but*), and the word gradually assumed the form Takum, *i.e.*, Takoon, our modern Dagoon or Dagôn. The classical name, still used in Burmese books and the daily Press of Rangoon of the Shwe Dagôn pagoda is Tikumbhaceti. Dagôn is the Talaing corruption of Tikumbha. The sound of the word Dagôn suggested to Alompra, after his decisive victory over the Muns, the name Rangoon, by which appellation the town has been called since. The word Tikumbha has seen strange vicissitudes: the Burmese, envious of the halo of sanctity which surrounds the pagodas of Syriam and Pegu, changed Tikumbha to Tigumbha, which means "the three alms-bowls," and, nothing loth, invented a story, in which Gotama and his chief pupils, Sāriputta and Moggallāyana, are discovered burying their alms-bowls on the spot where the Shwe Dagôn pagoda now stands. When the original meaning of the word Dagôn had been effaced from the memory of the Talaings, they connected Dagôn with the Talaing word ta'kkoon and devised an absurd fable, which raised the temple upon "a log lying athwart."

The name Dagôn is of modern date and as an appellation for the stupa did not come into general use till the beginning of the 16th century. For a fuller account of the modern history of the Shwe Dagôn pagoda the reader is referred to Major Spearman's *British Burma Gazetteer*.

The low hills to the north of Rangoon are now covered with forest or modern dwellings. Conical heaps of bricks, protected by a network of the roots of trees which have grown upon them, a few old wells and here and there traces of walls are the only vestiges left to indicate the sites of Asitañjana and Ukkala. The exuberant soil of British Burma will in fifty years cover neglected buildings with a forest almost primeval and with the deceptive "green moss of antiquity." There are very few architectures in British Burma which have withstood the corroding influence of the climate for more than three centuries.



NOTES  
ON  
THE EARLY HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY  
OF  
BRITISH BURMA

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II.—THE FIRST BUDDHIST MISSION TO SUVANNABHUMI.

RANGOON :  
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.

—  
1884.





# NOTES

ON

## THE EARLY HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

OF

### BRITISH BURMA.

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#### II.—THE FIRST BUDDHIST MISSION TO SUVANNABHUMI.

At the close of the 3rd century before Christ King Dhammāsoka convoked a council in the monastery of Asokārāma in order to restore the faith of Buddha, which had become polluted by the heresies of Bhikkhus, who had furtively attached themselves to the congregation of the true pupils of the Jina, to its original purity.

At the close of this, the third Buddhist council, the far-seeing Moggaliputta (president of the convocation), “who perceived by his “supernatural vision the propagation of the faith in the future in the “neighbouring countries, sent Majjhantika and other theras, each “with four companions, for the sake of establishing the faith in “foreign countries and for the enlightenment of men. ‘Preach, ye “(he said), together with your brethren, the most excellent religion “to foreign countries out of compassion for created beings.’ ”

The foreign countries to which Buddhist missionaries were sent from the third council were Gandhāra, Kasmīra, Mahisa, Vanavāsi, Aparanta, Mahārattha, Yavana, Himavat, Suvannabhūmi, and Lanka or Ceylon.

Suvannabhūmi, which has been identified with the Transgangetic Peninsula, or certain portions of it, was more than two thousand years ago deemed of sufficient importance to be numbered with those realms over which the Buddhist Church contemplated to extend the religion of the Conqueror. In all probability numerous and important Hindu colonies dear to the mother country lined the shores of Suvannabhūmi from the Sittang river to the Straits. The Sinhalese chronicles, the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa’s commentary to the five Vinaya books, and the Kalyāṇi inscriptions of Pegu, contain references to the first Buddhist mission to Suvannabhūmi. They will here be produced *seriatim*.

*Dīpavamsa* (8, 12, Dr. Oldenberg’s edition) :

Suvannabhūmim gantvāna Sonuttarā mahiddhikā  
Niddhametvā pisācagane mokesi bandhanā bahu.

“Sona and Uttara, who possessed the great magical powers, went to Suvannabhūmi; there they conquered the multitude of pisācas and released many people from their fetters.”

*Mahāvamsa*, pages 74 and 75 :

Saddhim Uttaratherena Sonathero mahiddhiko  
 Suvannabhūmim agamā tasmin tu samaye pana.  
 Jāte jāte rājagehe dārake rudarakkhasī  
 Samuddato nikkhamitvā bhakkhitvāna gacchati.  
 Tasmim khane rājagehe jāto hoti kumārako,  
 There manussā passitvā rakkhasānam sahāyakā  
 Iti cintiya māretum sāyudhā upasankamum  
 Kim etan ti ca pucchitvā, therā te evam āhu te :  
 Samanā mayam sīlavantā : rakkhasī na sahāyakā.  
 Rakkhasī sāsaparisā nikkhantā hoti sāgarā.  
 Tam sutvāna mahārāvam viravimsu mahājanā,  
 Digune ca rakkhase thero māpayitvā bhayānake.  
 Tam rakkhasim sapisam parikkhipi samantato,  
 Idam imehi laddhan ti mantvā hitā phalāyi sā.  
 Tassa desassa ārakkham thapetvāna samantato,  
 Tasmim samāgame thero brahmajālam adesayi.  
 Saranesu ca sīlesu atthamsu bahavo janā  
 Sathimsatasahassānam dhammābhisamayo āhu.  
 Addhuddhāni sahasāni pabbajjum kuladārikā,  
 Pabbajimsu diyaddham tu sahasam kuladhītarō.  
 Tatoppabhūti sañjāto rājagehe kumārake  
 Tattha karimsu rājāno Sonuttarā sanāmakam.

“Accompanied by the thero Uttaro, the disciple Sono repaired to Suvannabhūmi.

“In those days, as soon as an infant was born, a marine monster, emerging from the ocean, devoured it and disappeared. At the particular period (of this mission) a prince was born in a certain palace. The inhabitants seeing the priests and taking them to be the emissaries of this rakkhasi, arming themselves, surrounded them for the purpose of destroying them.

“The theros, having ascertained what their object was, thus addressed them : ‘We are pious ministers and not the emissaries of the rakkhasi.’ The monster, with her train, at this instant emerged from the ocean. Hearing of this (visitation) the concourse of people gave a great shout of horror. The thero causing (by his power of working miracles) another band of terrifying monsters to spring up of double that numerical power surrounded the rakkhasi and her train on all sides. She, concluding this land has been



appropriated by these, terrified fled. Establishing the protection of the true faith over that land in all quarters in that assembly the thero preached the brahmajālā discourse (of Buddha). A great multitude of people attained the salvation and the state of piety of that faith. Sixty thousand became eminently endowed with the knowledge of its doctrines. Two thousand five hundred men became priests and one thousand five hundred women of various castes were admitted into the priesthood. From that period the princes born in that palace obtained (from Sona and Uttara) the name of Sonuttaro."

Buddhaghosa's account in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* appears to be a mere prose paraphrase of the passage quoted from the *Mahāvamsa*: it gives no additional information.

Suvannabhūmi is the only geographical name which occurs in the *Dīpavamsa*, the *Mahāvamsa*, and the *Samanta-pāsādikā* in connection with the Buddhist mission to that country. Lassen identifies Suvannabhūmi with the present Pegu, or the delta of the Irrawaddy; Colonel Yule applies the name to a promontory or place on the coast of the Gulf of Martaban; and other writers hold that it means Burma in general or the large islands off the Straits. In modern Burmese works Suvannabhūmi is used as the classical designation of British and Upper Burma. Captain Forbes, in his *Indo-Chinese Languages*, has already forcibly pointed out, and his statement is corroborated by geological evidences and the Native records, that the extensive plains south of the Pegu Yoma and what are now the Irrawaddy and Sittang valleys were covered by the sea till a few centuries after Christ. Even Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the 7th century A. D., places Prome near a sea harbour. Burmese historians date the retreating of the ocean from Prome from a terrible earthquake which took place in the fifth century after Christ. The corrosion of the sea water is still clearly traceable on the numerous boulders which line the base of the hills stretching, now far inland, from Shwegyin to Martaban. Cables and ropes of seagoing vessels have been dug up near Ayetthima, the ancient Takkala, now distant 12 miles from the sea-shore, and but lately remains of foreign ships have been found near Twantè buried eight feet beneath the surface of the earth.

In Note No. I it has already been stated that the most ancient name of the region south-west of the Pegu Yoma was Ukkalaman-dala, which appellation changed in the 7th century to Hamsavatī-mandala. In the 14th century the three provinces, Kusimamandala, Hamsavatīmandala, and Muttimamandala, were collectively called Rāmaññadesa. But Rāmaññadesa comprized originally only the region between the Sittang and Salween rivers. It is not ap-

parent, either from Native histories or from inscriptions, that the valley of the Irrawaddy or the regions about the present Pegu were ever known, except in quite recent times, under the appellation of Suvannabhūmi; it is however certain that Sona and Uttara landed at a place south of the Sittang river, and Thatôn is generally pointed out as the town where the two missionaries disembarked and preached the Brahmajālasutta.

The Kalyāni inscriptions of Pegu contain fuller details of Sona and Uttara's advent in Suvannabhūmi. The passage referring to this point runs thus :

Sonatheram pana Uttaratherañ ca Suvannabhūmiratthasankhāta-Rāmaññadese sāsanam patitthāpetum pesesi ; tadā Suvannabhūmiratthe Sīridhammāsoko nāma rājā rajjam kāresi, tassa rājatthānīnagaram Kelāsabhapabbatacetiyaassa pacchimānūdisāyam hoti ; tassa tu nagarassa pācīnupaddhabhāgo pabbatamuddhāni hoti, pacchimupaddhabhāgo same bhummiabhāge hoti tam pana nagaram Golamanussagharānam viya mattika gharānam bahulatāya Gola-mattikanagaran ti yāvajjatanā voharanti ; tassa pana nagarassa samuddopakatthattā samuddavāsīrakkhasī rañño gehe anuvijātam dārakam satatam gahetvā khādati ; tasmiñ ca therā gamanasamaye rattiyam rañño aggamahesī ekam dārakam vijjāyi ; sā pi rakkhasī rañño gehe dārakassa nibbattabhāvam ñatva tam khāditukāmā pañcasataparivārā nagarābhīkṣukam āgacchati ; manussā tam disvā bhittatasitā viravanti ; tadā dvetherā ativiya bhayānake rakkhasī sihasadisekasī sadvidhābhūtasīhakāye disvā tato rakkhasaganato digune attabhāve māpetvā anubandhitvā ruddhāpesum, atha te pisācā te theramāpite dvigune attabhāve disvā mayam pi dāni ime-sam bhakkhā bhāvissāmā 'ti bhittā samuddābhīkṣukā dhāvimsu ; therā pana tesam anāgamanatthāya dīpassa sāmāntā ārakkham samvidahitvā tadā sannipatitānam Brahmajālasuttam deseti desanāvāsāne satthisahassānam manussānam dhammābhisamayā ahoṣī, ad-dhuddhāni purisasahassāni diyaḍḍhāni cēththisahassāni pabbajjimsu avasesā pana manussā saranesu ca sīlesu ca patitthāhimsu ; evam sammāsambuddhāparinibbānato dvinnam vassasatānam uparī chat-timsatime vasse vitivatte imasmim Rāmaññadese dvettherā sāsanam patitthāpesun ti datthabbam ; tato pabhūti Rāmaññadese tadahu jātārājakumārānam Sonuttārā 'ti nāmam karimsu ; sabbesam abhinavajātadārakānañ ca rakkhasārāno vāranattham bhuje vā panne vā tadā theramāpitatthabhāvarūpam likkhitvā sīse paridhāpayimsu ; nagarassa ca pācīnuttaradisābhāge gīrīmatthake theramāpitatthabhāvarūpam silāmayam katvā dhāpayimsu, tam rūpam yāvajjatanā dissati ; evam Rāmaññadese sāsanapatitthānato patthāya cirakantam dībbati ; gacchante gacchante kāle mahāmandalassāpi Rāmaññadesassa visum visum dāmarikāttakāranena bhinnattā ahivātarogapilī-



tattā dubbhikkhapīlitattā varacakkasankhittāya sattarājasenāya abhibhūtattā ca Rāmaññatthānam dubbalam jātam tena tam nivāsinam bhikkhūnam sukhena pariyattim vā patipattim vā paripūretum asakoneyyattā sāsanam pi dubbalam jātam. Sūriyakumāro ti pana patiladdhakumāranāmassa Manoharirañño rajjakaranakāle accantadubbalam jātam.

*Translation.*—“ The theros Sona and Uttara were sent to Rāmañña, which forms a part of Suvannabhūmi, to propagate the holy faith. At that time a king named Siridhammāsoka governed the country. The royal residence of this regent was in a town situated to the north-west of the Kelāsapabbata pagoda. The eastern half of this town was built on the summit of the mountain, and the western half was built on the level ground (along the foot of the mountain). This town is called to this day (*i.e.*, when the Kalyāni inscriptions were written) Golamattikanagara, because of the many houses it contained made of earth (loam) in the fashion of the houses of the Gola people.

“ This city was situated close to the seashore; a rakkhasi (female ogre), who lived in the sea, was in the habit of seizing and devouring every child that was born in the king's palace. On the very night the two theros arrived (in the place), the chief queen of the king gave birth to a child. The rakkhasi, knowing that a child had been born in the king's palace, went, in order to devour the infant, towards the town; she was surrounded by 500 attendants. When the inhabitants saw them they were greatly alarmed. Then the two theros, seeing that the ogress (with her attendants) had assumed the surpassingly frightful appearance of lions, of which each had one head and two bodies, created (by their magical power) monsters of the same frightful appearance, but twice the number of those accompanying the ogress, and closed in upon them, obstructing their further progress. When the Pisācas saw themselves confronted by double their own number of like monsters created by the theros they cried out ‘ Now we shall be their prey ’ (we shall become food to them), and fled frightened towards the sea. In order to prevent the return of the ogress, the theros placed guards about the place and then preached to the assembled inhabitants the Brahmajālasutta.

“ When they had finished their discourse 60,000 persons became endowed with the knowledge of the (divine) law; 3,500 men and 1,500 women renounced the world. As to the rest of the people, they became established in the saraṇas (*i.e.*, embraced Buddhism) and the sīlas (cardinal virtues). Thus the two theros established the religion in this region of Rāmaññadesa in the 236th year after the allwise Buddha had attained nirvāna.

“From this time all princes who were born on this day (on which the repulsion of the ogress and preaching of the Brahmajālasutta had taken place) received the name Sonuttaro. To shield all newborn infants from the danger of the ogress, bracelets or palm-leaves, on which were traced the supernatural appearances created by the theros, were placed on their heads. A stone, on which the same appearances were sculptured, was placed on the top of the hill upon which stood the north-eastern portion of the town: this stone may be seen to this day. Buddhism flourished for a long time in Rāmañña from the day of its introduction.

“In course of time, however, the extensive regions of Rāmañña were devastated by robbers, who committed outrages; the people suffered from jaundice(?) and famine, and the kingdom was harassed by the armies of the seven neighbouring kings; all this greatly tended to hinder the progress of Buddhism. Owing to these causes, the power of Rāmañña was greatly weakened. The Buddhist religion declined because the people were unable to support the priests, who resided among them, with comfort; the monks could not fulfil the pariyatti patipatti (the code of moral practice contained in the entire scripture).

“During the reign of Manohari, who when Crown Prince was known by the name of Sūriyakumāro, the power of the kingdom declined very rapidly.”

From this extract from the Kalyāṇi inscriptions, which, like the Shwe Dagôn, Lekkaik, Kelasa, and Tanut inscriptions, were set up at the close of the 15th century by the order of Shinsawbū and King Dhammaceti, we can glean the following geographical names: *Suvannabhūmi*, *Rāmaññadesa*, *Kelasapabbata*, and *Golanagara*. The site of the town where Sona and Uttaro landed is so accurately defined in the inscriptions that I had little difficulty in discovering it.

About 12 miles inland from the present seashore and 22 miles to the north-west of Thatôn rises a range of hills which is known as the Kelasa mountains; the central and highest summit is called the Kelasa peak (ကောလိန္ဒ), lat. 17 deg. 2 m.; long. 97 deg. 2 m. The north-eastern side of the mountain is a perpendicular precipice of massive rock, the south-western declivity is thickly wooded and slopes gently towards the plain, which extends in unbroken flatness to the ocean and the Sittang river. The summit of the southern spur is crowned by the Kyaikdiyo pagoda, and the central peak by the Kelasa pagoda, the *Kelasapabbataceti* of our inscription. The pagoda has been renovated, but it still bears the distinct habitus of the old Talaing stupa; it is a square structure, consisting of



three terraces, one rising within and above the other, supporting a light central cone, surmounted by a hti or iron ornament, which consists of a series of concentric rings gradually narrowing in towards the top.

In this group of pagodas, to which the temples of Thatôn, Ayetthima, Kyaikatha, Sittaung, Tinzayat, and Shwekugyi near Pegu belong, a straight flight of stairs, constructed of bricks or blocks of laterite, leads from the platform to the topmost terrace.

The Kelāsa pagoda, as it now stands, was also built by Dhammaceti : a Talaing inscription on the platform contains the record of the meritorious act. The stone slab, measuring 10 feet in height and 3 feet in width, is broken in two, but the letters are still preserved. Descending the stairs the path leads to an open level place, once the site of the Kelāsavihāra, which in former times enjoyed the same renown in Suvannabhūmi as the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. The foundation of this monastery is connected with the landing of Sona and Uttara, and Talaing tradition reports that Buddhaghosa, after his arrival in Rāmañña, retired to this cloister. [It may here be mentioned that among the foreign deputies who attended the ceremony of consecration of the Mahātūpo in Ceylon (382 A.D.) the priests from the "Kelāsavihāra" are mentioned thus (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 172):

Sūriyagutto mahāthero Kelāsamahāvihārato

Channavatisahassāni bhikkhū ādāya āgamā.

As the Kelasavihāra of the *Mahāvamsa* has, I believe, not yet been identified, it might not be beyond the pale of possibility that the Sinhalese chronicle refers here to the Kelāsavihāro of Suvannabhūmi. There was, however, a monastery of the same name and renown near the present Bombay.]

From the Kelāsavihāro the path, pursuing a north-western course, brings us soon to the foot of the mountain midway between Kinyua and Ayetthima.

The mountain ridge, as it lowers from the central peak, gradually expands and finally abuts in two distinct heads towards the plain. The region along the western base of the mountain from Ayetthima to near Kinyua was formerly known as (and is still frequently called) Kulātaik (ကုလားတိုက်). The Talaing name is Taikkulā (pronounced Takkalā). Though the seashore is now about 12 miles to the west, this place was still an important seaport in the 16th and 17th centuries; it is marked on the map of Professor Lassen as Takkala, but erroneously placed a few miles north of Tavoy. Cables, ropes, and other vestiges of seagoing vessels are still frequently dug up about Taikkulā.

Etymologically the word, as it is now written, is composed of taik (တိုက်) a house, especially a warehouse, made of stone, brick, or loam, and kulā (ကုလား), a general name for western foreigners; the order of the words in Burmese is the reverse of that in Talaing: in the former the compound word appears as Kulātaik, in the latter as Taikkulā.

On the summit of the north-western spur of the hill stands the Kyaikkumē (Kumāracetī). This pagoda, as it appears now, is quite modern, but it was no doubt raised above the ancient laterite stupa of the same name. Talaing and Burmans frequently mask a pagoda by overlaying it with a new coat of bricks and mortar. In examining passages, forced laterally through a pagoda by treasure-hunters who sought to reach the small central chamber to rifle it of its contents, I frequently found the hole to pass through two, three, and even four stupas, one enclosed within the other. The Sule pagoda in Rangoon is, as we now see it, hardly fifty years old, but it encloses the stupa renovated at the close of the last century; and within this we would probably find the smaller temple built by Shinsawbū over the original small stupa erected by former kings; the original name of the pagoda was Cūlacetī (corrupted now to Sule), "the small pagoda," in contradistinction to the "great pagoda" (mahācetī), the Shwe Dagôn phaya.

A little below the enclosure of the Kyaikkumē pagoda I noticed to the left hand ascending the path a large stone slab covered on both sides with Talaing inscriptions. The letters exhibit a more ancient phase of paleographic development than those of the Kelāsa pagoda; they appear to have been engraved at the beginning of the 14th century, when with the rise of Wagaru, King of Martaban, a new impulse had been given to native learning, and Buddhism again had attained to exclusive predominance on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban. The inscription contains the record of the contributions given by pious devotees towards the rebuilding of the Kumāracetī and the monastery attached to it.

The eastern and the western slopes of the hill are covered with ruins in a much advanced state of decay; they reach down to the foot of the mountain and extend along both its western and eastern bases (behind Ayetthima and half-way to Kinywa). According to the passage quoted from the Kalyāni inscriptions (*vide* pages 4 and 5), the royal residence was in a town situated to the north-west of the Kelasapabbata pagoda; the eastern half of this town was built on the summit of the mountain, and the western half was built on the level ground. The town is called to this day (*i.e.*, the 15th century, when the Kalyāni inscriptions were written) the *Golamattika*-or *Golanagara*.



There cannot be any doubt that the ruins between Ayetthima and Kinywa are the remains of the Golanagara of our inscription. Any structure built of loam, earth (*mattikā*, the Sanscrit *mrīttikā*), brick, or stone is called *taik*; the Talaing *taikkulā* (*takkala*), and the Burmese *Kulātaik* is the correct rendering of *Golamattikā*. In old Talaing manuscripts the Pāli name is written *Golamattikā*, and in modern manuscripts *Gulāmattikkā* and *Kulāmattikā*. The Talaing equivalents are *taikgolā* and, by a natural assimilation of *g* to *k*, *taikkolā*, which changed in course of time to *taikkulā*. A Burmese translation of a Talaing history says : ဂေါဠမတ္တိကနကရန္တိ "ဂလာတိုက်မြို့ဟူ၍" ယခုအခါတိုင်အောင်ခေါ်ဝေါ်ကုန်၏။ ဂေါဠမတ္တိကသဒ္ဒကိစ္စ၌ဂူဠာတို့ကံမြို့ဟုတွင်၏။ ဟူ၍ဆိုသတည်း။ *Golamattikanagara* is called to this day *Gulātaik*. The sound of the word "*Golamattika*" changed (in course of time) and is now contained in the name "*Gulātaik-myo*."

From what has been said in the preceding pages we can glean two important results, *first*, that Sona and Uttara did not land in Thatôn, as is generally believed, but at Golanagara, once a seaport and situated about 22 miles north-west of Thatôn; *secondly*, we have obtained a clue as to the origin of the word *Kulā*, a general appellation given to foreigners from the West. There are few words in Burmese upon whose origin more disparaging views have been pronounced; but we need not go further than to the *Golamanussā*, the *Gola* people of our inscription. The Burmans, unacquainted with the original meaning and derivation of the word, trace it now to *kū* (ကူး), to cross over, and *la* (လာ), to come, *i.e.*, "people who come from across." This, we need not say, is one of the many so-called "popular etymologies" where the sound of a word, whose meaning has been lost, suggested a similar sounding substitute, upon which some intelligible interpretation could be put, be it ever so absurd historically. The word is also not derived from the Pāli or Sanscrit *Kulam*, a family, caste, race. We can clearly trace the gradual transition of *kulā* to *gulā* and *gola*. The word is originally written ဂေါဠ, which unmistakably points to the Sanscrit *Gauda*, which was the name of that portion of India which is now known as the "district of Gour," the central part of Bengal, extending from Wanga to the borders of Orissa.

As very little is known about the ancient *Gaudas*, its ascertained history beginning with the conquest in 1204 A.D. by the Muhammadans (see Dr Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. 3, p. 333), it is important to note that, according to the Kalyāṇi inscriptions, the *Gaudas* more than two thousand years ago inhabited, and probably founded, as colonists, the *Gaudanagara* in *Suwannabhūmi*,

and that they were engaged in a constant struggle with the Pisācas, *i.e.*, the aboriginal tribes. Of the town nothing remains now except traces of brick walls and the stone image alluded to in the text taken from the Kalyāṇi inscriptions; it is now lying, half buried underground, near a small tank to the south of the Kumāracetī and consists of a huge, phantastically-shaped boulder, similar in appearance to that strange freak of nature the supposed lost species of a Megatherium preserved in the public garden at Prome.

The Taungthus, still numerous about Ayetthima and Thatôn, claim the region between the mouths of the Sittang and Salween river as their original home, from which they were driven, according to their traditions, by the Talaings. The Taungthus were divided into seven clans. I have little doubt that by the Sattarājasenāya of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions (see page 5) the seven clan chiefs of the Taungthus are meant, who harassed the Talaing by their constant inroads. This must have been in the 9th or 10th century after Christ, prior to the conquest of Thatôn by the Burmese King Anawratha. After the rise of Wagarn, King of Martaban, at the close of the 13th century, the main body of Taungthus, being conquered by the Talaings, left the country; three clans (I owe this information to Dr. Cushing) went towards the north and the other four clans towards the north-east (Shan and Laos States). They appear to have been the cultivators of the soil from time immemorial, for in the Talaing law-books the word Khettiya (Kshetra), which in the Dhammathats is erroneously often treated as a synonym of Khattiya (Kshatriya) of the Hindu Dharmasastras, and taken in the sense of "tillers of the soil," is always translated by "Taungthus." The Rāja Manohari, mentioned in the Kalyāṇi inscriptions, is King Manuha, "under whose reign the power of the kingdom of Rāmañña declined very rapidly." He provoked the ire of Anawratha, who invaded Rāmañña, destroyed Thatôn (11th century A.D.), and carried Manuha, with his wife and children as captives to Pagan, where they were thrust down to the low condition of pagoda slaves.

The first Buddhist missionaries landed, as has been shown in the preceding pages, in Rāmaññadesa (which formed a part of Suvannabhūmi) at Golanagara, most probably a colony of the Gauras, and there converted "men and women of different castes" to Buddhism. There is no evidence to prove that the people converted were Talaings; it must rather be inferred that the latter were the Pisācas of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions, engaged in a constant struggle with the Hindu colonists. Thatôn, which is a corruption of Saddhamma (sat-dharma), cannot claim the honour of either having been the landing place of Sona and Uttaro or the cradle of



Buddhism in Burma. It may perhaps be the first city which the Muns, in subsequent times, and when they themselves had become Buddhists, founded on the shores of Suvannabhūmi. Moreover it is a wellknown tendency in Native records to transfer the traditions of a place abandoned by themselves or their neighbours to a newly erected town.

The oldest ruins, sculptures, and inscriptions found in and about Thatôn belong to the 3rd and 4th centuries after Christ; they do not owe their origin to an impulse transmitted from Golanagara. The many-terraced temples, the Vishnuic symbols showing Vishnu in his ninth avatāra as Buddha; relief sculptures representing the well-known Trimurtni (Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva); and the alphabet of the Thatôn inscriptions are decidedly of South Indian origin; the letters are almost identical with the Telugu-Canarese alphabet in its earliest form, the Vengi of the 4th century. From the same source the Talaings and Burmans appear to have derived their knowledge of Katautra's Sanscrit grammar, which they consider as the oldest Sanscrit grammar in existence, and of which an ancient version, written with a modified Talaing-Burmese alphabet, still exists in Native monasteries. We must assume for Thatôn a separate and distinct influx of Indian civilization, which reached it from the eastern shore of Southern India when governed by the kings of the (Kalinga) Cālukya dynasty. Tradition indeed corroborates the testimony of the inscriptions. But more light is required to dispel the darkness which involves the early history of Thatôn. Some writers have assumed a connection of the Muns with "Telingāna" by virtue merely of a similarity of sound between "Talaing" and "Telingāna." But it appears unwarranted to attempt upon such grounds to establish *ancient* historical relations between the Talaings and the Trikalingas, when it is remembered that prior to Alompra the name "Talaing" was *entirely unknown* as an appellation of the Muns, that it nowhere occurs in either inscriptions or older palm-leaves, and that by all nations of Further India they are known by names etymologically related to either "Mun or Pegu." The term "Talaing" is a pure Mun word.

We owe to the grim sarcasm of Alompra numerous changes in geographical names of British Burma.

"The conqueror of Pegu finding Mahāgāma (once an important city north of Prome) to compare unfavourably with the other cities of that country such as Prome and Rangoon, considered it unworthy of the name of Mahāgāma, and with prurient pleasantry suggested that henceforth it should be called *Kāma*" (sensual desire),—see Major Spearman's *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II, page 217.



In Bassein a fierce struggle ensued between Alompra's soldiery and the Talaings. The fight centered round a *sīma* (Burmese ခံ) or imagehouse. The town had hitherto been called Kuthein (a corruption of the Pāli *Kusima*, the *Cosmim* of the Portuguese). Alompra changed the name to Puthein, "the hot imagehouse:" by this name it was called ever afterwards. Dagōn he altered to Yangu (Rangoon). By these changes a tonal similarity between the old and new appellations was preserved, but their historical and etymological connexion destroyed.

The word "Talaing" is the term by which the Muns acknowledged their total defeat, their being vanquished and the slaves of the Burmese conqueror. They were no longer to bear the name of Muns or Peguans. Alompra stigmatized them with an appellation suggestive at once of their submission and disgrace. "Talaing" means "one who is trodden under foot, a slave;" the word is made up of the Mun root (ခံ) *lain*, to tread upon, to tread under foot, and the nominal particle ဝ, *ta*; ဝခံ implying persons trodden upon, slaves. Alompra could not have devised more effective means to extirpate the national consciousness of a people than by burning their books, forbidding the use of their language, and by substituting a term of abject reproach for the name under which they had maintained themselves for nearly two thousand years in the marine provinces of Burma. The similarity of the two words "Talaing" and "Talingāna" is purely accidental; and all deductions, historical or etymological, thrown from the resemblance of these two terms, must necessarily be void *ab initio*.

Takkala is first mentioned by Ptolemy; in the travels of Hernandez Pinto, who visited Pegu in the 16th century, the town is mentioned as Tegala and Tagala. In Siamese and Cambodian chronicles Takkala is adverted to under the name Kulanagara, and Kuleh, where immigrants and pilgrims landed and passed on to Siam, or embarked for sacred places in India.

Sir Emerson Tennent, in his work on Ceylon, adduces strong arguments in favour of the identification of "Kalah" of Arabian geographers with Galle (Point de Galle) in Ceylon.

He says (Ceylon, Vol. I, page 565): "It is not probable but almost certain that during the Middle Ages, and especially prior to the 11th century, when the trade with Persia and Arabia was at its height, Mantotte afforded the facilities indicated by Bertolacci to the smaller craft that availed themselves of the Paumben passage; but we still have to ascertain the particular harbour which was the centre of the more important commerce

between China and the West, and that harbour I believe to have been Point de Galle."

"Abou-zeyd describes the rendezvous of the ships arriving from Oman, where they met those bound for the Persian Gulf, as lying half-way between Arabia and China. 'It was the centre,' he says, 'of the trade in aloes and camphor, in sandalwood, ivory, and lead.' This emporium he denominates 'Kalah.'"

"According to him it was at that period (8th and 9th centuries A.D.) subject to the Maharájá of Zabedj, the sovereign of a singular kingdom of which little is known, but which appears to have been formed about the commencement of the Christian era, and which in the 8th and 9th centuries extended over the groups of islands south and west of Malacca, including Borneo, Java, and Sumatra, which had become the resort of a vast population of Indians, Chinese, and Malays. The sovereign of this opulent empire had brought under his dominion the territory of the King of Comar, the southern extremity of the Dekkan, and, at the period when Abou-zeyd wrote, he likewise claimed the sovereignty of 'Kahah.'"

"The assertion of Abou-zeyd as to the sovereignty of the Maharájá of Zabedj is consistent with the statement of Soleyman in the first portion of the work, that 'the island was in subjection to two monarchs;' and this again agrees with the report of Sopater to Cosmas Indico-pleustes, who adds that the king who possessed the hyacinth was at enmity with the king of the country in which were the harbour and the great emporium."

"It must be observed that one form of the Arabic letter *k* is sounded like *g*, so that Kalah would be pronounced *Gala*. *Kalah* may possibly be identical with the Singhalese word *Gala*, which means an 'inclosure,' and the deeply-bayed harbour of Galle would serve to justify the name. *Galla* signifies a rock, and this derivation would be equally sustained by the natural features of the place and dangerous coral reefs which obstruct the entrance to the port. The identity however is established not merely by similarity of sound but by the concurrent testimony of Cosmas and the Arabian geographers as to the nature and extent of the intercourse between China and Persia, statements which are intelligible if referred to that particular point but inapplicable to any other. *Dulaurier* has brought together the authorities of Aboulfeda, Kazwini, and others to show that *Kalah* must be situated in Ceylon, and he has combated the conjecture of M. Alfred Maury that it may be identical with *Kedah* in the Malay peninsula."

"Coupled with these considerations however the identity of name is not without its significance. It was the habit of the



Singhalese to apply to a district the name of the principal place within it: thus Lanka, which in the epic of the Hindus was originally the capital and castle of Ravana, was afterwards applied to the island in general; and according to the *Mahāvamsa*, Tambapani, the point of the coast where Vijayo landed, came to designate first the wooded country that surrounded it and eventually the whole area of Ceylon. In the same manner *Galla* served to describe not only the harbour of that name but the district north and east of it to the extent of 600 square miles; and DeBarros, DaCouta, and Ribeyro, the chroniclers of the Portuguese of Ceylon, record it as a tradition of the island that the inhabitants of that region had acquired the name of the locality and were formerly known as 'Gallas.' Galle therefore in the earlier ages appears to have occupied a position in relation to trade of equal if not of greater importance than that which attaches to it at the present day; it was the central emporium of commerce, which in return enriched every country of Western Asia, elevated the merchants of Tyre to the rank of princes, fostered the renown of the Ptolemies, rendered the wealth and the precious products of Arabia a gorgeous mystery, freighted the Tigris with 'barbaric pearl and gold,' and identified the merchants of Bagdad and the mariners of Bassora with association of adventure and romance. Yet, strange to say, the native Singhalese appear to have taken no part whatsoever in this exciting and enriching commerce; their name is never mentioned in connection with the immigrant races attracted by it to their shores, &c., &c."

I have extracted these passages from Sir Emerson Tennent's work on Ceylon in order to show how much information we may glean from ancient Greek, Latin, and Arabic historians with regard to Eastern ports, of which native chroniclers report but little, and because I surmise that the ancient *Kalah* so eulogised by Sir Emerson Tennent is not the Singhalese *Galle* but the *Golanagara* of Rāmaññadesa in Suvannabhūmi, the port where Sona and Uttara landed two thousand years ago to establish Buddhism.

In an anonymous work entitled "Ceylon; a General Description of the Island, Historial, Physical, and Statistical," published by Chapman and Hall, London, 1876, I find numerous passages quoted from Abou-zeyt, Soleyman, Edrisi, Ibn Mulhalhal, and other authors which render Sir Emerson Tennent's identification of Kalah with Galle untenable. The writer says (page 220, Vol. I): "After leaving Cape Comorin, the junks, whichever way they passed Ceylon, crossed the Bay of Bengal to the Nicobar islands (Lanka Calons), the inhabitants of which are described by Soleyman as being naked cannibals, who did not know Arabic or any other language used by



the merchants who frequented them. From thence they sailed to *Kalah*. Soleyman, who calls it 'Kalah-bar,' the additional 'bar' meaning a coast, says it was situated on the coast to the right hand beyond the Indies and took one month's voyage from Kaulam to reach it. From Kalah they passed through the Straits of Malacca to Betuma, probably the modern Binting, a small island opposite Singapore, which occupied ten days; thence they sailed to Kedring (Cambodia) and through the Sea of Sanji (Chinese sea) to Kaufou (Canton), taking nearly two months more."

"Kalah was a commercial rendezvous of importance in the Middle Ages and the attempt to show that it was not in Ceylon will be unavoidably prolix. Nearly all the Arabian geographers and writers place it in some part of the Indian archipelago. Some of them call it a city, others an island, and all name tin as the chief production, which is quite opposed to Sir Emerson Tennent's idea that it was in Ceylon where this metal is not found. The term *Kalah* is probably derived from *kalai* or *qu'la*, the Hindi and Persian for tin, which is found in great quantities at Junk Ceylon, Queda, and other parts of the Straits of Malacca. Kalah may have been the small island on the north-western coast of Malay, now called Junk Ceylon, a curious proof how names become changed from their original meaning being derived from two Malay words, *ajunk*, a large vessel, and *selang*, interchange or commerce, Chinese junks having formerly made the island a rendezvous. M. Walckenaer, a German traveller, thinks Kalah was the modern Queda, a province in the peninsula of Malay, a Portuguese corruption of Kâdah, the correct Malay name."

"According to Abu-zaid, Kalah was a great entrepôt for goods and rendezvous of Arabs, half way between China and Oman. On referring to the map it will be found that the half-way position between Oman and China, if we include the bend of the Straits of Malacca, would bring this place much nearer to the north-west coast of Malay than Ceylon."

"Ibn Mulhalhal and Ibn-el-varidi say Kalah was the only place in the world where tin or lead was found; and Kazwini, quoting the first-named Arabian, remarks Kalah was the first Indian town reached on the overland route from China by Siam. It produced tin and was subject to the King of Siam."

In comparing the arguments adduced by Sir Emerson Tennent in favour of the identity of Kalah with Galle with those of the anonymous author of "Ceylon," who places Kalah to the east of the Bay of Bengal, one is inclined to side with the latter writer, especially as it is now well known that Comar (*vide* page 13) is the ancient name of Cambodja, and not Cape Comorin, and that Zabedj is

Yava or Cambodja. The classical name of the latter country is also *Suvannabhūmi*, and Albirouni says: “Les îles du Zabedj, “correspondant à celles que les écrivains Sanskrits nomment Sou-  
“varnadoupia ou îles d’or.” Souvarnadoupia (*Suvarnadvīpa*) is the Sanscrit for *Suvannadīpa*, which is frequently used instead of *Suvarnabhūmi*. As the precise site of Kalah has not yet been identified, I suggest it to be the *Golanagara* of the Kalyāni inscription, a settlement of the Gangetic Gaudas in *Suvannabhūmi*, the *Kuleh* of the Siamese and Cambodjan records, the Takkala or Taikkala of later writers from the West, the Kola or Kula-taik of the Burmans, the ruins of which are still extant between the present Ayetthima and Kinywa. The constant rising of the land reduced Takkala within the last two or three centuries to a land-locked city, now no longer approachable either by rivers or the sea.

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NOTES ON THE LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS SPOKEN IN  
BRITISH BURMA.

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RANGOON : PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, 1884.





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## NOTES ON THE LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS SPOKEN IN BRITISH BURMA.

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Demi-official letter from Dr. E. FORCHHAMMER, Ph. D., Professor of Pali, Rangoon High School, to the Assistant to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma,—dated the 17th August 1882.

ENCLOSED I send you a few notes on the Kachin, Talaing, and other languages spoken in Burma. On the language of the Salôns I can give you no more information than is contained in the *British Burma Gazetteer* (Vol. II, p. 188). The Guzerati is a modern Aryan tongue closely allied to the Hindi, but I am not acquainted with it and have no literary means at hand to summarize its general and peculiar features. The Chaw, Shandu, and Taungthā are *said* to be *Kuki* dialects; and as I have no material of Chaw and Shandu, I have given some notes on the Taungthā, though not contained in the list of languages of which the Census Commissioner requires information. Of the Yabeins, Yaws, and Chaungthās I regret not to be able at present to give outlines of their languages.

### *Kachin.*

The Kachins call themselves Chingpaw, which is the same as Singpho; they occupy the mountain regions from Upper Assam across Northern Burma beyond the Chinese boundary of Yunan; in Burma they extend as far south as Momeik and Theinni.

The Kachin idiom has made a considerable progress towards the agglutination of formative elements with roots, so that we find a large number of dissyllabic and polysyllabic words in the language.

The Kachin has the finals *ng, n, t, p, h*, the vowels *a, i, e, o, u, ö, ë, ä, õ, an, oi*, and the guttural vowels *a* and *eh*; the initial consonants *g, k, kh*; the palatals *c* and *j*; the rough aspirate *ch*; *d, t, th*; *b, p, ph, f, m, y, r, l, v, w*; *s, hs, sh*; and *h*.

Nouns are simple as *ja*, gold; *pan*, a gong; or compound: two nouns unite, as in *shat-ti*, rice-pot, or noun and a verb, *jan-pon*, sun-rise (East), or a verb and a noun, as *hsin-ai-mashang*, a watchman; a noun, verb, and noun, as *kum-rang-ram-mashang*, a groom, horse-keeper.

The plural may be formed by placing *ni, khai, or lan* after nouns, as *kwi-ni*, dogs; *mashang-khai*, men; *mashang-lan*, many men. Masculine and feminine genders are distinguished

either by different words, as *k-wah*, a father ; *k-nu*, a mother ; or the masculine of brute is distinguished by appending *lah* or *rang*, and the feminine by *yi* or *vi*, as *kwi-lah*, a dog ; *kwi-yi*, a bitch.

Cases are distinguished by articles, such as *jam* for the nominative ; *eh* for the genitive or possessive ; *phai* for the dative and accusative ; *nai* and *deh-nai* for the ablative ; and *n-ay* for the vocative.

Pronouns have no inflexional changes of form to indicate gender or case. Personal pronouns :

- |     |               |        |                   |       |
|-----|---------------|--------|-------------------|-------|
| I   | <i>ngai</i> , | I ;    | <i>n-hteh</i> ,   | we ;  |
| II  | <i>naug</i> , | thou ; | <i>nan-hteh</i> , | you ; |
| III | <i>chi</i> ,  | he ;   | <i>chi-ni</i> ,   | they. |

Possessive pronouns : *eh* is added to the personal pronouns : *ngai-eh*, my.

Reflexive pronouns : *khum*, *khum-mah*, and *tah-naug*, i.e., *ngaikhum-k-lannah*, I myself will do it.

Relative pronoun is represented by *ai*, as *ka-lan-ai-mashaung*, the man who works.

Interrogative pronouns : *k-tai*, who ; *kra*, which ; *hpah*, what.

Adjectives are either simple (not derived from any other part of speech) or verbal (*mai*, to be good) or pronominal (*n-tai*, this ; *wau-rah*, that) or numeral (*l-ugai*, one ; *l-chaung*, two ; *m-hsum*, three ; *m-li*, four ; *m-ngah*, five, &c.).

The accidents of mood and tense in verbs are expressed by the use of particles ; the verb never undergoes any change ; the verb is the root unaltered.

*Hsa* expresses the imperfect or past definite, *n-gai k-lan hsa*, I worked ; *ngut-hsa* the perfect ; *uah* the future ; *ugah* present participle ; *mu*, *kau*, the imperative ; *lu-a*, *lu-nah*, *an-nah*, the potential mood ; *yang* the subjunctive. *A*, *ai*, *teh* are assertive particles ; *ngah*, *nau*, *ni*, *krai*, *shi*, *raw*, *kang* express various temporal relations, such as present continuance, repetition or interruption of action, i.e., *chi k-lan-kang-hsa*, he has done it once.

The Kachin has adverbs of place (*k-deh*, where ; *nangdeh*, here), of time (*k-loi*, when ; *tai-ni*, today), of manner (*li-lah*, in vain), of number (*l-chaung lang*, two times), of comparison (*mareu*, the same ; *a phah*, very), of negation (*n*, *ngia n-hsah-nah*, I will not go).

Conjunctions are numerous ; the syntactical arrangement of words is chiefly mediated by them ; they express the following relations. Copulative (*kwi hteh tum-hsu ugah-a*, there are dogs and cows) ; adversative (*a-mu-ngah rai-ti-mu ngai hsah-uah*,



although I have business I will go); illative (*chiu-k-ji tai-rai-yang-khi hpai a-nu-mu*, he is bad, therefore beat him); telic (*loo-khah*, in order to, &c.); conditional (*yang*, if, &c.); temporal (*sh-loi*, when; *l-pram*, before; *chi hsah-l-pram*, before he goes).

The order of the words and clauses in a sentence is more perfectly like the Burmese than that of any other language of Further India. A Kachin sentence can generally be transposed into a Burmese sentence, word for word, without disturbing the collocation of words.

### *Talaing.*

The Talaing language forms with the Anam, Cambodian, and Palaung the Mon-Anam language-group. They occupy, like the Celtic tongues in Europe among Indo-European idioms, an isolated position amongst Indo-Chinese languages. They cannot be connected directly with any one of the known members of the latter family. Yet the phonetic and morphological structure of the Talaing is so decidedly Indo-Chinese that we are not justified in ranging it with any other language-group. But there are many intermediate stages of development between the present Talaing and the Burmese, Karen, and Shan-Chinese, which close acquaintance with the many yet but little known languages of Further India, China, and Tibet may bring to light.

However a careful comparison and analysis of the Talaing will bring it much nearer to its kindreds than a mere glossorial collation would warrant us to assume.

Talaing *khyä't*, to die, has no affinity with Burmese *thay*, to die, and the Shan *tai*; but the Burmese ချီ *choke*, in the sense of "to cut off, terminate life," is nearly related to it in meaning and etymology. Talaing *chäh*, horse, disclaims all kinship with Burmese *myin*, Arakanese *mrau*; but Talaing *mai*, ass, mule, is related to Shan Chinese *ma*, horse, and this again to the Burmese equivalents. Talaing *pha* is the concomitant preposition "with;" we cannot compare it with Burmese *huin* and *tagwa*, but with Burmese *pa*, to be with, to accompany. Talaing *kwon*, bread, can be readily affiliated with Burmese ခံ *mone*, when we know that *k* in Talaing is a mere prepositive particle and *w* an interchangeable consonant with *m*. The apparently wide difference between Talaing and other languages of Further India has been effected chiefly by the pronominal particles (*ka*, *pa*, *ta*, *ma*) having coalesced with the following root. The short enclitic *a* was in many instances



gradually dropped and *k*, *t*, *p*, and *m* formed with the initial consonant of the following word a compound consonant or a new consonant, the result of the mutual assimilation of both. Sgaw Karen *lo* is seemingly radically different from Talaing *prang*. Karen has rejected all finals. Final *ang* in Burmese, Talaing, and Chin changes persistently to Sgaw Karen *o*; thus *lo* stands for an original *lang*. Karen *l* corresponds to *ŋ* in Burmese, to *r* in Arakanese and Talaing; *lang* (i.e., *lo*) is therefore genetic identical with Talaing *rang*. The *p* in *prang* is the curtailed particle *pa*, indicating the causing of an action. Talaing *prang* is the same word as Karen *lo* minus the particle *pa*, which the latter idiom had no tendency to prefix before *lo*.

These few illustrations in support of the Indo-Chinese affinity of Talaing are necessary because this idiom has been pronounced radically different from the other languages of Further India.

The Talaing phonetic system is characterized by possessing, in addition to the usual six finals, also the rough aspirates *h* and *ch* (pronounced like the Scotch *gh* in light), and the deep guttural *k*. The vowels are monophthong, diphthong, and triphthong, but atonal. The initial consonants are more numerous than in Burmese, Karen, and Chin, and are remarkable for possessing cerebrals and six distinctly pronounced labials.

The Talaing forms some nouns from verbs by prefixing *la* or *dēdohmē*; *ho*, to speak; *laho*, a speech; *byu*, to be old; *dēdohmē-byu*, old age. Otherwise a word exercises the function of a noun merely by its position in the sentence, being indistinguished in form from other parts of speech. The plural is indicated by separate words expressing multitude, as *klung*, *gēmlung*, *lo*, and *nyih-to*; *mani gēmlung*, many men. Words expressive of sexual differences are added to mark gender, as *mani tru*, a man; *mani brn*, a woman.

The case of nouns is shown by their location in the sentence; the nominative precedes the verb, the object follows the verb; but if the latter governs several nouns they precede the verb; the thing possessed precedes the possessor, as *lī'k ma mī' goh*, that (*goh*) man's book (literally book man that); other case-relations are indicated by prepositions, as *nyi hō ko oe*, he told me (literally he speak to I). The Talaing have different personal pronouns according as the speaker addresses equals, inferiors, or superiors. The adjectives follow the word they specify, as *tha ngi khah*, a good house (literally house good); the comparative and superlative are formed by *lun* and *a't*, as *tha ngi ino*

*khah lun nu tha ngi*, this house is better than that house. Pronominal adjectives generally follow the noun, *ma ni wuh*, this man (literally man this). In interrogations the interrogative pronoun precedes the noun, and this is followed by another interrogative particle, as *patha ma ni rou*, what (kind of a) man is he? Classifiers (numeral auxiliaries) are not so frequently used as in Burmese or Shan; *kwong moc kala'*, one loaf of bread (literally bread one a loaf); *kan pi dung*, flower three plants, i.e., three flowers. The tenses and moods are imperfectly shown by affixes and prefixes, but generally by the relative position of the words in a sentence; *nyia*, he goes (he go); *tui* indicates the past, *rung* the future; *mong*, continuation of action, *ni a mong*, he continues to go; *gu* the optative or potential, as *m'āgn*, he may or can go; *man*, ability, as *niboh lik man*, he is able to read; *da* expresses necessity, *za* or *zo* the imperative; *la*, *lēpa*, *lē-lē* are particles of prohibition, as *lēpa ho lē-lē*, speak not at all.

Adverbs are often formed by repeating a word, as *a-proh proh*, go quickly; *a-thah thah*, go slowly. The Talaing possesses no relative pronouns and but few conjunctions. The position of the words in a sentence is just the reverse of that in Burmese, and agrees therefore more with the syntax of the English tongue.

In the following notes on Indo-Chinese languages I have endeavoured to divide them in groups and families, not so much upon apparent similarities of their vocabularies as upon the inner growth and tendencies which they exhibit to linguistic analysis.

The life and growth of these idioms depend mainly upon the degree of development of pronominal roots and of their attachment to other roots; secondly, upon the nature of the final element of words. Changes in the vowels and initial consonants are caused chiefly by alterations in the final consonants.

#### *Shan.*

I. The Khamti, Thakial, Aiton, Man, Ahom (extinct), Siamese, and Shan constitute the *Tai* family of Indo-Chinese languages; they possess, more than any other language-group in Further India, features which affiliate them directly with the South-Western Chinese dialects, the Amoy and Hokkyen. Most Shan words can be found under the same or nearly related letters in the dictionaries of the dialects mentioned.



<i>Shan.</i>	<i>Hokkyen, Amoy.</i>
<i>Pang</i> , luxuriant.	<i>Pāu</i> , luxuriant, flourishing.
<i>Pau</i> , to wrap round.	<i>Pān</i> , to cover.
<i>Phan</i> , stupid.	<i>Pán</i> , stupid.
<i>Ang</i> , a shallow vessel.	<i>Ang</i> , a jar.
<i>Ai</i> , to cough.	<i>Ai</i> , to cough, to belch.
<i>Ik</i> , a yoke.	<i>Ik</i> , a yoke.
<i>Oñ</i> , to answer.	<i>Oi</i> , to answer.
<i>Khun</i> , a ruler, prince.	<i>Koug</i> , a lord, duke.
<i>Am</i> , to put together.	<i>An</i> , to put down, etc.

The Shan, Amoy, and Hokkyen are distinguished by the following characteristics :—The six final consonants *ng*, *n*, *m*, *k*, *t*, *p* are distinctly enunciated; they are not assimilated or modified by the initial sound of the following word; by the strong individuality of these final consonants the coalescence of words is prevented. The vowels are monophthong, diphthong, and triphthong; the tonal system is fully developed, containing the clipped, the high, the middle, the deep, the rising, and the falling tones with their various modifications. These languages possess in the final consonants and the numerous vowel accidents ample means of differentiation of roots and, in consequence, the initial consonants are small in number and confined to the aspirated and unaspirated surds and the nasals. Pronominal roots, indicating temporal or local relations, are but feebly developed; there are no formal distinctions between noun, verb, adjective, or adverb. Numbers and genders are expressed by separate words of individual meaning, and a limited number of phonetically independent particles exercise those functions which in inflected languages are vested in the declensional and conjugational apparatus. Intensity, repetition, and duration of action are frequently expressed by repetition of the predicative root. The syntactic relation of words is chiefly determined by their position in the sentence.

#### *Chin.*

II. The Burmese-Chin language-family comprises the Arakanese, Tavoy (?), Burmese, Chin, Kwaymi, Chaungtha, and probably also the Sak, Yaw, and Yabein. The Arakanese, Burmese, and Chin may be characterised as follows: They possess the six finals *ng*, *n*, *m*, *k*, *t*, *p* (all the other finals in Burmese belong to borrowed words), but they have a less pronounced value than in Shan; final *k*, *t*, and even *p*, are in the spoken language frequently interchangeable, and the distinc-



tion is now becoming somewhat uncertain in the written language of the Burmese. Finals are often modified, assimilated, and even ejected by the initial element of the succeeding word, and this led to the formation of the numerous dissyllabic words in Burmese and Chin, in which the assimilating word bears the accent and the assimilated root becomes almost enclitic; *saba* (စာပါး), for instance, occurs in older manuscripts and even in modern points as *sam pa* (ဆမ္ပါး); *sa* stands for the original *zan* (ဆန်) husked rice, *zan* in Shan, *zoan*, in Talaing, *zong* in Chin; the final *n* followed by a labial changed to the labial nasal, and *z* (ဆ) softened through the influence of the unaspirated labial *p* changed to *s* (စ); *pá* (ပါး) is in this form now obsolete in Burmese, but is found as an independent word in nearly all other Indo-Chinese languages, as *báy*, *bé*, *bhü* corn, grain, wheat; *san* and *pá*, being related in meaning, gradually coalesced to *zaba*, a general term for graminæ and a specific designation for (rice) grain. In Chin the final consonants are still less distinctly pronounced than in Burmese and more subject to the influence of neighbouring sounds; the language is fast approaching towards rejecting them altogether like the Sgaw Karen. The vowels in Chin are monophthong and diphthong. In connected speech the vowels appear to be tonal; but when the words are pronounced separately and disconnectedly they have no fixed sound. Languages are called tonal when each word, whether used singly or in a sentence, constantly occupies a definite position in the tone-scale. Shan *khai* pronounced with the deep tone means "a hen," pronounced with the rising tone "to sell." Tonal inflection in the Chin idiom is not pressed in the service of significant distinction and it is therefore atonal.

The partial obliteration of final consonants and the absence of tones and triphthongs necessitated an increased development of initial consonants. The Chin has not only surds like the Shan but also sonants. It may be well here to point out the phonetic law, which holds good in all cases, that the number of initial consonants increases in proportion as finals and the tonal system disappear. In Burmese the final consonants are gradually becoming indistinct and already the language begins to throw a number of words, till but recently written with surd initials, into the sonant class; (ဆတ်) *bhat* for (စတ်) *phat* (ဆောင့်) *bhaung* for (စောင့်) *phaung*, (ဆက်) *bhek* for (စက်) *phet*, &c. Burmese (ခ) is invariably *l* in Chin, and the latter affords a valuable means to decide in doubtful cases whether in Burmese a word should be spelt with (၂)-or-င.

The primary pronominal roots *ka*, *ta*, *pa*, and *a* appear as prepositive particles and are often inseparately connected with other words. Chin possesses a dual, an inclusive and exclusive plural, and a separate set of pronouns used in connection with verbs only. Shan has also a pronominal dual. Chin, like Burmese, expresses intensity of action, the transitive and causative, the active or passive forms of the verb by inner changes or repetition of the root: *pü*, to be full; *phu*, to fill up; *pyak*, to be destroyed; *phyak*, to destroy; *mling*, to be high, *hmling*, to elevate.

Number and gender are designated by separate words implying plurality and distinction of sex. Chin has a fuller apparatus of particles than Shan to express the relation of cases, tenses, and moods. A tendency towards inflection may be recognized in those personal pronouns which are enclitically prefixed to roots: *nong*, thou, but *na-lu*, thy head; *kyei*, I, but *ka-hlōt*, I send.

#### *Tavoy.*

Tavoy can hardly be called a dialect of the Burmese, it is distinguished from the latter by peculiar idioms, which all belong to the Burmese language-treasure but have become obsolete in some localities.

<i>Burmese.</i>	<i>Tavoyisms.</i>
မကျိက်	မလို
အဖို	အထီး
အငယ်ဆိုသမျှ	သားယား
မြန်မာ	ပုဂံ
မောင်ကို	အနှောင်
မိတ်ဆီးသော်	အမျက်
သကြား (sugar).	သတောဆား (literally ship salt).
မိကြီး	အရီး
မာလာကာသီး	ခမောင်းဝါသီး
မိုးချုပ်	မိုက်
ငှက်ဘော်	ခြီးထံသွယ်
မရှိ	မရွှေ့
ချီးမွန်း	မျှောက်ခါး
ခေါင်းကိုက်	မျက်စိလယ်

Tavoy has but few and unimportant phonetic deviations from the Burmese မြန်မြန်လာ for Burmese မြန်မြန်လာ; အခွတ် for အခုတ်; ကွဲ for ကွဲ ခွဲ for ခွေး; ရှစ်သီး for သရက်သီး; မြတ်စာ for ဖတ်စာ; အအူ for အအော; ယု for မပြု; အိုးဝယ် for အိုးစည်; အဟောက် for အလောက်; တွဲ for တံခါး; မှင်း for ထမင်း, &c.

*Kwaymi, Sak, Mro.*

The Chin subdivision of the Burmese language-group is distinguished from the Burmese chiefly by having advanced further towards effacing final consonants, which led to deepening the preceding vowel and to developing sonant initials. Burmese *i* followed by a final (either *k*, *t*, or *p*) changed in Chin to *e*, *i* to *ei*, *u* to *o*, *on* to *an*, *ai*, *ei* to *ou*, *a* to *ā* or *o*, *e* to *ū*. The additional initial consonants are *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*. The Chin also allowed numerous pronominal roots (*ka*, *a*, *pa*, *ma*, *ta*) to coalesce with other roots to an inseparable union. The Kwaymi, Sak, and Mro are nearer related to the Chin than to the Burmese. The names of these tribes occur among the 35 clans into which the Chin were originally divided. The languages of this group generally prefix the pronominal particles *ka*, *ta*, *pa*, and *a* to roots.

<i>Chin.</i>	<i>Mro.</i>	<i>Kwaymi.</i>	<i>Sak.</i>	<i>Burmese.</i>
<i>Mă kut</i> , hand ;	<i>tă ku't</i>	<i>ă-kú</i>	<i>ta-kú</i>	လက်
<i>Mă in</i> or <i>in</i> , house ;	<i>kă in</i> , <i>k'in</i> ,	<i>k' in</i> ,	<i>k' in</i>	အိမ်
<i>Zang</i> , elephant,	<i>kă zà i</i> ,	<i>kă zái</i> ,	<i>kă zá</i>	ဆင်
<i>Tui</i> , water ;	<i>tei</i>	<i>tui</i>	<i>tui</i>	ရေ
<i>Kha lí</i> } or <i>ka lí</i> } air ;	<i>kălí</i>	<i>kalí</i>	<i>kălí</i>	လေ
<i>Khyen.</i>	<i>Mro.</i>	<i>Kwaymi.</i>	<i>Sak.</i>	<i>Burmese.</i>
<i>mă lí</i> } or <i>ă lí</i> } arrow ;	<i>lí</i>	<i>lá</i>	<i>li</i>	လေး (bow)
<i>ma lü</i> , head ;	<i>kă lú</i>	<i>lú</i>	....	ခေါင်း
<i>lum</i> , stone ;	<i>kálim</i>	<i>lím</i>	<i>lim</i>	ကျောက်

The Mro, Kwaymi, and Sak differ from the Chin only in the use of pronominal prefixes : *mă* is an inclusive plural particle ; *ă* is an indefinite ; *kă* and *tă* are definite articles. In some instances Kwaymi and Sak have rejected a final vowel, which is still retained in Chin, Mro, and Burmese.

*Taungthā.*

The Taungthās are hill tribes of Arakan including several distinct tribes, such as the *Shandns*, *Kyaw* (*Chaw*, &c.). The language of the Taungthās contains a number of words which are almost identical with the Burmese ; however the main body of the idiom belongs to another language-group, apparently to the Kuki. Words like *arúpzăray*, *a wá*, *azain*, *pya pya*, *anee*, *pă rá*, *păloo*, *meenyoung* are abstracted directly from the Burmese အရပ်အရေအဝါအဝမ်းပြာပြာအနီအရမ်းဘီလူးမိကျောင်း ; but *ku*, foot, *naro*, nose, *kor*, mouth, *hor*, tooth, *nor*, ear, possess



phonetic and etymological features which can claim but a remote connection with the Burmese language.

The Taungthā exhibits the finals *ng*, *n*, *m*, *k*, *t*, and *r*; the vowels are monophthong and diphthong, but without distinctly developed tonal inflexions; the initial consonants consist of surds. Double initials occur frequently; *hrún*, silver; *shré*, axe; *gnor*, fish. The language is not strictly monosyllabic; dissyllabic and polysyllabic words are met with: *awanda*, above; *akomda*, below; *kangang*, old; *shintra*, bad; *ashintra*, not bad, good.

Pronominal prefixes are not used; *a* is placed before predicative roots to indicate the imperative; *o*, *thé*, *an*, *nam*, *né* are words expressive respectively of negation, the past, the future, prohibition and interrogation, and follow the verb.

Taungthā appears, as already stated, related to the Kuki of Cachar and Tipperah.

*Taungthā.*

Kut,	hand	Kuki.
Naro,	nose	kut.
Lú,	head	nar.
Lē,	tongue	lú.
Ozí,	star	leí.
Wor,	bird	ási.
Kat,	one; rû, six	wa.
Nit,	two; sharē, seven	khat; rúk.
Tum,	three; kēt, eight	ní; sharīh.
Lī,	four; knor, nine	thúm; ret.
Gnor,	five; hor, ten	li; kúo.
		ranga; som.

*Karenni.*

The Tai idioms are related with the South-Western Chinese languages, the Karen dialects more with the northern, of which the Kwan-hua is the representative type. Contrasting the Karen language-family with the Tai-Chinese and Burmese-Chin idioms, the following traits will be found to characterize it. Total rejection, or nearly so, of all final consonants. In whatever word this occurs, the preceding vowel deepens in sound or tone; for instance, roots ending in Chinese and Burmese tongues in *ang* change in Sgaw Karen to *ō*, *e. g.*, *pang* to *po*, *wang* to *wo*, &c. The vowels are predominatingly monophthong; few diphthongs and no triphthongs occur. The tonal system is developed, but not so fully as in the related Chinese dialects. As compensation for its comparatively few vowel accidents and loss of final consonants the Karen dialects increased the number of its initial consonants. More than

other languages of Further India, the Karen idioms admitted pronominal particles, not only to be joined to roots as distinct entities but also to be entirely absorbed by the latter to form new words. The numerous vocables beginning with double consonants, as *kr*, *zg*, *tr*, *pr*, *pl*, owe their origin to a prefixed *kă*, *ză*, *tă*, *pă*, which gradually became enclitic and finally coalesced with the initial of the following word into a double consonant.

The Karenni, which belongs to the Bghai subdivision of the Karen dialects, is distinguished from the Sgaw by frequently changing the initial *gh* to *r*, *w* to *b*, *l* to *s*, *s* to *h*. Sgaw *a* is often *ay* in Karenni; Sgaw *e* changed to *ie* and sometimes to *o*; *o* to *u*; *ei* to *e*. It differs also from Sgaw in the choice of pronominal prefixes, which, when absorbed by a following initial, will naturally produce a different double consonant; where Sgaw took *kă*, Karenni took *ză* or *tă*. In complex roots we need not hesitate to identify *kra* with *tra*, because the root (*ra*) is the same in both, and the difference of *k* and *t* arose from the preference of Sgaw for the particle *ka* and of Karenni for *ta*.

Karenni and Sgaw have no vestige of final consonants left. Sgaw Karen and Taru have preserved the nasals. Taungthu, however, shows the usual final consonants in that portion of the vocabulary which is not related to Sgaw Karen. It is hardly possible that the Taungthu should have rejected finals in one portion of its vocables and maintained them in the other. I am inclined to think that all words which resemble or are identical with Sgaw Karen have been borrowed from the latter. The remaining portion of its vocabulary is, according to its phonetics and etymologies, to be connected with the Palaung-Talaing group.

### *Tipperah.*

The language of the *British* district of Tipperah is the common *Bengali*, but largely intermixed with Urdu words owing to a considerable number of immigrated Mahomedans.

In the native territory of Tipperah governed by a Hindu Rajah several *non-Aryan* languages are spoken. The idiom of the *Tipperah hillman* is closely allied to the *Kachari* and *Gáro* dialects, which, together with the *Mech*, *Koch*, *Rabha*, and *Chutia* tongues form the so-called *Kachari-Koch* family, a subdivision of the *Tibeto-Burman* language-group.

To the west and south-west of Hill Tipperah there are numerous tribes and languages which belong to the *Kuki*

family, closely allied to the Hallami and Manipuri, or rather forming with the two latter and the Lunyang, Looe, Lushai-Sokte, Poi, Rabui, and Maring the *Kuki* sub-family of the Tibeto-Burman group.

	<i>Hill-Kachari.</i>	<i>Mech.</i>	<i>Gáro.</i>	} Assamese numerals used.
one	shi	shi	....	
two	gani	ni	....	
three	gatham	tham	....	
four	bri	bri	....	
five	bwa	ba	....	
earth	hā	hā	ahā	
fish	nā	nā	nā	
bird	dao	dao	tok	
come	phaide	phai	phai	
go	thaug	thaug	(lai)	
eat	ji	ja	jā, &c., &c.	
	<i>Kuki.</i>	<i>Looshay.</i>	<i>Manipuri.</i>	
one	khat	pakat	ama	
two	in	panit	ani	
three	tum	patum	ahum	
four	li	pali	mari	
five	gna	panga	manga	
earth	(phil)	lei	laipak	
fish	gna	nghah	nga	
bird	vā	(sā) va	vā, &c., &c.	

These languages are nearly related to the Chin and therefore also to the Burmese.

#### *Panthay.*

The Panthays, or Mahomedans of the Chinese province Yunan, are said to be the descendants of those Arabs whom the Emperor Tung-huang-tsong (8th or 9th century A.D.) invoked against the rebel Aung-lo-shan. The Kalif Abu Tafari-al-Mansur despatched three thousand men and they remained in China, originally in the provinces Shensi and Kansu, whence they immigrated, about two hundred years ago, to Yunan. Though adhering to their faith and frequently rebelling against the intolerant oppressions of the Mandarins, who caused their total overthrow in 1874 by Chinese imperial troops, they have adopted the Chinese language as spoken in Yunan. Caravans of Chinese Mahomedans (Panthays) frequently performed pilgrimages to Mecca and brought back Arabian manuscripts of the Koran ; but very few can read them.



We cannot therefore speak of a Panthay language. The language of the Panthays is, as far as known, Chinese.

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From Rev. C. BENNETT, Rangoon, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,  
British Burma,—dated the 17th August 1882.

YOUR letter of the 8th requested answers to a few questions, the first being “How many distinct Karen tongues or dialects are recognised, and what are they?”

In answer to this, we may begin with (1) Sgaw, (2) Pwo, (3) Paku, (4) Bghai, (5) Red Karen, (6) Wewas, (7) Brecks, (8) Laymay, (9) Shoung, (10) Kay or Ka, (11) Monipogas, (12) Mopgas, (13) Manumanus, (14) Geykos, (15) Tarus, (16) Mishmis, (17) Chins, (18) Hashwas, (19) Yanseik, (20) Yeingban, (21) Black Karens, (22) Taungyas, (23) Pantwearing Karens, (24) Meris, (25) Nagas, and, if I mistake not, there are some others! All of these names I have seen in print, or heard, and I have strung them together in order to show the absurdity of some writers who aim to make much out of little.

“2. Which of these have a distinct alphabet?” *Answer*,—The Sgaw and Pwos *only*.

“3. In what respect does the alphabet of the one differ from that of the others?”

“4. How were these several alphabets formed?”

“5. When were they introduced?”

We will answer these three last questions together. Neither of these languages or dialects had been written until 1834. At that time there was a great rage in India to Romanize the Oriental languages. This was attempted for the Karen, and failed to satisfy some of us who were engaged in the giving of an alphabet to the Karens.

It was happily decided at last to make use of the Burmese character as far as it was available, and to add other characters as was found necessary, for the writing of *Sgaw Karen*. I have said above *happily*, advisedly, for several reasons: (1) We had the means, at a very little expense, to print at once in the *Sgaw*; (2) by adopting the Burmese character, all those Karens who could read Burmese (and the number was not large) could easily read Karen with very little instruction; (3) Karen readers have less difficulty in acquiring the Burmese language. It should be remembered, however, that the characters used in *Karen* have not the *same sound* that the same characters have in Burmese.

There was more difficulty with the Pwo. After several efforts, and the printing in Pwo with two or three different characters, it was finally resolved to use the Burmese character for that also, with necessary modifications. This change was successful, and the result is that a Sgaw Karen has been known to *read* the Pwo after a few hours' study, and the Pwo can as easily *read* the Sgaw, notwithstanding there is a great difference in the definition of many words.\*

In our *first* acquaintance with the Karens, for a year or two it was thought that there was no affinity between the Sgaw and the Pwo, as in *hearing* the languages *spoken* there appeared no resemblance. But on examination of the dialect it was discovered that as the words in the Sgaw *always* terminated in a *vowel*, the Pwo was full of *consonantal* terminations like the Burmese and Peguan. The Sgaw has six, and the Pwo ten inflections, while the Burmese has only three, and only one of them is used common to all, otherwise the characters used for inflections or symbols of sound are different in the Sgaw and the Pwo.

Into these two languages, the Sgaw and the Pwo, many of the dialects mentioned in the beginning of this paper are now being brought into harmony with the one or the other as far and as fast as it is practicable. A few small books have been printed in the Bghai and Red Karen, but all in the Sgaw character. In fact in many cases the difference is only in the pronunciation of a few words, and also the use of words from other languages of people living near them.

These dialects (so called) are found from the mountains on the west of Siam scattered all along to the eastern boundary of Tibet, and often consist of a few villages and a handful of people so far as now known.

It is to be remembered that very many of the 25 names heretofore given, by some called dialects (but erroneously), are only diverse from some peculiarity in dress, or religious ideas, or customs, and in some instances probably confined to a village only, and have no regard to language or dialect.

It was not uncommon half-a-century ago, and perhaps before that, for some rather clever Karen to get up a system of worship of his own manufacture and to draw disciples after him, and he sometimes distinguished his followers from others by some change of dress, as a *red* stripe at the bottom of the

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\* The Roman Catholic Mission in Bassein at first used the Roman character, but I understand this has been discontinued recently and the Burmese character or Sgaw adopted.



dress, or to dress in *white*, or adopt the Shan or Chinese pantaloon, as well as some other trivial distinctions, in which *language* played no part, and sometimes they would form new settlements. These teachers were called Bhukos and Wis, as well as other appellations, and some pretended to be prophets. After the introduction of Christianity some of these would mix up with their superstition a little Buddhism and a sprinkling of Christianity, as on worship days to abstain from manual labour, &c. Thus often this distinction has been called a dialect.

As to the Taungthus, so far as I know, they are not a very numerous people, and possibly to some extent may be a mixture of Shan and Karen or other nations, the Shan language, or a dialect of it, always predominating. The name simply means mountaineers.

The Taungthus, like the Karens, have made some men ridiculous. We had a traveller in Burma 50 years ago, who ascended the Salween as far as the mouth of the Yunzalin, and he found 30 *nations*, all of whom were Taungthus! only from the different spelling or writing of the word, or different appellations in the names of villages even. He submitted his manuscripts to the missionaries, who pointed out his mistake and he reduced the number to 20. He after that made a tour to Ava, the then capital, and submitted his manuscripts to Colonel Burney, who also pointed out his errors, and that *all* were *one* people. However, when his book of travels was published, he only reduced the number to 14! This is how *dialects* and *nations* were founded 50 years ago.

If it is true that Thatôn was a seaport 600 years before the Christian era, when possibly the most of the delta south of Prome was a bay or gulf, with the mountains as islands, then possibly also the mixture of the tribes and races we now meet with may in some measure be accounted for.

I have thus in a crude way endeavoured to answer your questions so far as my limited knowledge extends, and I shall be happy if in any way the scrawl may be of use.

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Demi-official letter from P. H. MARTYR, Esq., Extra Assistant Commissioner, Myaungmya, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma,—dated the 23rd August 1882.

I HAVE received your letter, dated the 16th instant, asking me for some information on the Karen and Taungthu languages, and I shall be happy to tell you all I know regarding them, which, I am afraid, will not be much. I studied Shan



and Karen and have passed in them. As for Taungthu, I knew a little of it before I went on leave. I have just taken it up again, and if I can get a Taungthu man to come to me I hope soon to pass in that also. I shall be obliged if you will tell me whether it will be necessary for me to wait until the regular examination time and send in my name as a candidate for examination in Taungthu or whether a special examination will be held whenever I am prepared to pass.

Taungthu is decidedly not a distinct tongue by itself, neither is it a written language. I believe that there are some books written in the Burmese character, but I have never seen any work of the kind. I have never lived amongst Taungthus, and have had no opportunities of gaining much information about them.

From the small vocabulary I have made, I judge that the Taungthu language is a mixture of Karen, Shan, and Burmese words. This is the pure mountain Taungthu. Perhaps the Taungthus, who live in the Talaing country have adopted Talaing words also. Dr. Mason thinks that it has the greatest resemblance to Pwo Karen, half of the words being of common origin. I dare say he is right. Some years ago I travelled to the Shan States from Toungoo. I knew a little Sgaw Karen at the time, and we passed through numerous tribes, some of whom were Taungthus. My knowledge of Sgaw Karen did not help me, and my Burmese was only of use when I reached the town of Moby and came in contact with officials.

Now about the Karen language. The American missionaries, who have made the subject their life study, could give you all the information that it is possible to obtain regarding this language. I will, however, write a few lines myself on the question you ask. Karen tradition says that the Karens had once a written language. The first European missionaries who settled in Burma were Roman Catholics. They found no written Karen language. I am informed by Rev. Father Domingo, a Roman Catholic priest, 85 years old, that one of their number formed a Karen alphabet and wrote some books, but unfortunately they were destroyed by the Burmese. When the American missionaries took up their labours in this country, about the beginning of the present century, they decided to reduce the language to writing, and after much discussion, whether it should be constructed with Roman letters or the Burmese character, it was finally decided to adopt the latter. It may be safely stated that the Karens had no written language of their own. This was the opinion of Sir Arthur Phayre.

The Karen alphabet is therefore the Burmese alphabet with variations and additions. Marks and strokes to denote sounds not found in the Burmese language have been added. The Burmese letters have not been changed in any way, but some of the *sounds* of the letters have been changed. Thus—

ခ kee	in Burmese is changed to ko	in Karen ;
ခ keē	ditto	to kaw ditto ;
ခ kan	ditto	to kee ditto ;

and so on, but the changes are not many.

The two principal dialects, Pwo and Sgaw, have been reduced to writing, and strange to say that, although they are both formed with the Burmese characters, distinct additional marks and strokes have been introduced to denote the same sounds.

The Karen language has many dialects. Dr. Mason gives as many as 30 and I notice a few new names of tribes in the last census returns. The principal tribes are, however, the Sgaw, Pwo, and Bghai. Both Dr. Mason and Father Domingo agree in this.

Note by Mr. G. D. BURGESS, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma, on the languages of Burma,—dated the 27th September 1882.

EXCLUDING foreign languages, the number of languages spoken in Burma, which are separately enumerated in the census report, is 21. Several of these languages are, however, nothing more than dialects.

There are three main groups of languages in Burma,—the Burmese, the Tai, and the Mon-Anam.

The most important group is the Burmese. Under it may be ranged the following languages or dialects :—

Burmese.	Yaw.
Arakanese.	Chin.
Chaungtha.	Kwaymi.
Tavoy.	Mro.
Yabein.	Kun.
Thet.	

Of these the first six are really but one language with several provincial dialects. None of them differ much from the original tongue. They all use the same alphabet. Properly speaking the written language of all is exactly the same. The number of people speaking Burmese and its dialects in British Burma is 2,612,274.



The remaining five languages, though said to belong to the same family as Burmese, differ from it considerably and are quite unintelligible to a Burman. These five languages may be said to form one group. Kwaymi, Mro, Kun, and Sak appear to differ little from one another, while they are said to differ from Chin only in the pronominal prefixes. None of these languages are written. The Burmese alphabet might be used to represent them in writing. It is now employed, as modified for Karen, in printing religious tracts in the Chin language by the American Baptist Mission in the Henzada district.

Chin is the language of 55,015 people. Kwaymi, Mro, Kun, and Sak are spoken by 24,874 people in British Burma. The numbers of Kun and Sak are insignificant, being only 11 and 69 respectively.

The Tai language, which is represented in British Burma only by the Shan, is hardly indigenous, the people who speak it being settlers in the country. These settlers, however, are found in every part of the province, and Shan is spoken by 59,723 people. The alphabet is very much the same as the Burmese. Most Shans in British Burma are acquainted with Burmese.

The Mon-Anam group of languages is represented by Talaing or Peguan. This was the language of the people inhabiting the seaward portions of Pegu and Tenasserim before the ascendancy of the Burmese. The language is fast disappearing; it is now the mother-tongue of only 154,553 people, and of these probably the majority are more familiar with Burmese than Talaing. It is rare to find Talaing spoken except in Amherst, which contains more than half the Talaing-speaking population. The alphabet differs very little from the Burmese, which is said to have been taken from it. The language will hardly survive as a separate tongue for more than a few years.

The next important language is the Karen, which is divided into several branches, as the—

Sgaw.		Bgeh.
Pwo.		Karenni.
Taungthu.		

This language readily splits up into dialects, the inhabitants of neighbouring valleys becoming unintelligible to each other after a single generation. None of the various dialects were written till the American missionaries made the attempt. They first tried the Roman or English alphabet, but found it



would not answer. They then introduced a modification of the Burmese alphabet. There are two forms of this alphabet in use, one for Sgaw, the other for Pwo. The Sgaw form is used in writing other dialects.\* Taungthu seems to be a kind of Pwo Karen with Shan and Burmese words intermixed.

\* The following account of the manner in which the Burmese alphabet has been adapted to the representation of Karen sounds has been kindly furnished by the Rev. Dr. Bennett :—

In what way is the Burman alphabet used to indicate Karen sounds?

*Answer.*—The great fact is the Burman *characters* are used in writing Karen but not Burmese sounds. There is some difference in the writing of the lessons also, *e. g.*, in Burmese the lessons read *across* the lines with the *leading* sounds, while the Karen places these leading sounds downward, as shown in the examples below :—

In Burmese we have—

က ကာ ကိ ကီ ကု ကူ ကေ ကဲ ကော ကော် ကံ ကား

k ka kee kee ko koo kay keh kaw kaw kan ka, and the con-

sonants follow ခ &c., throughout the consonants.

In the Karen we have as follows :—

ka ကါ ကိ ကိ ကး ကိ ကါ

kee ကံ

kin ကါ The above added to each line with the inflections နိ နိ :  
နိ create each

ko ကု a new sound, and the other consonants follow in the same way  
in the lessons ခ ဝ ဃ ဝ ဆ, &c.

koo ကူ

kay က့

keh ကဲ

ko ကီ

kaw ကိ

As there were not enough characters in Burmese to give all the sounds needed, there were added the following, and only used in writing Karen, as they are not Burmese at all but altered to suit convenience when preparing the character :—

၅ ၆ ၇ ၈ ၉ ၁၀ ၁၁ ၁၂ ၁၃ ၁၄

and each of these form lessons like that of ကါ above given.

The Karen *often* uses characters that rarely if ever occur in Burmese, as ကိ, &c., and the ခ ခ နိ is often used as in ကိ ကိ ကိ, &c. There is hardly ever the sound in Karen, the *same* as in Burmese. It is essentially a *Burmese character*, but with *Karen sounds*.

You can call a Karen boy who is a good Burmese reader, and the sounds he will give you will at once show the difference; the *real* sounds cannot be written with English letters.

The *Pwo* and the *Chin* follow the example given in the Sgaw, except that the *Pwo* has more inflections. As the *Chin* is only as yet an experiment, I do not attempt to give its character, but it will be as the others *Burmese* character generally modified but with *Chin* sounds attached to the characters.

Burmese is understood by a large portion of the Karen population and its knowledge is spreading amongst them. The number of Karen-speaking people of all kinds is 553,848. The remaining languages of British Burma are of comparatively small importance.

Chaw and Shandu are said to be related to the Kuki language. Chaw is spoken by 587 people and Shandu by 71.

Kachin is spoken by one person. It is not properly an indigenous language; it is the tongue of the tribes occupying the hills on the borders of Burma and China. The structure of the language is said greatly to resemble that of Burmese.

Deinnet is the language of 1,995 people in Arakan; it is stated to resemble the languages of Nepal.

Salôn is the language of the fishing population of the Mergui archipelago and is said to belong to the Malay-Polynesian group. The number of people using this language is 894. None of these minor languages are written.

Among the languages enumerated above, only Burmese and Karen are educationally recognised. Talaing is taught in some of the monasteries of Amherst, but it is not noticed by the Education Department. Whether it would be advisable to recognise it or not is a question for the local authorities of Amherst and perhaps of Shwegyin. There would probably be no need to do so in any other district.

Chin might also receive some educational recognition in Arakan, in Henzada, Prome, and Thayetmyo.

No other language seems to deserve separate recognition.

*Pace* Mr. Cust, the sooner these relics of the Tower of Babel can be swept away the better.

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*With the comp. of 6*

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BRAHMANS AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE IN BRITISH BURMA.

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RANGOON: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, 1885.





## BRAHMANS AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE IN BRITISH BURMA.

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IN Rangoon, Moulmein, and other larger towns of British Burma there are a number of Brahmans, who have emigrated from India since the British occupation of this province. They follow more or less the customs of their caste which are too well known to require notice in this paper. But there are a few Brahman families in Burma which have a history of two or three centuries in Ultra-India; they belong to the Kathay communities which reside chiefly in the Prome district. The Kathays are Manipuris and profess Hinduism. In the year 1783 Zinpyumyashin, the King of Burma, transported them as prisoners of war from the conquered Manipur State to Amarapura and Prome. Of late many have moved further south to Shwêdaung, Padaung, and Kyithe; a few are found in Myanaung, Henzada, and Rangoon; they number in all about 1,300 souls.

The Kathays recognize the fourfold caste-division, namely, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiçyas, and Sutas; the Kshatriyas are most numerous, there being but few Vaiçyas and Sutas, and but eight Brahmanic families; the distinction between the 3rd and 4th castes is not rigidly maintained; the Brahmans and Kshatriyas call them collectively "jatis," *i.e.*, caste people; they are tradesmen, the Kshatriyas chiefly silkweavers, and the Brahmans live on offerings, and the fees paid to them in their capacity as doctors and astrologers, by their own countrymen and by the Burmans, who often consult and greatly respect them.

The Kathays speak Kathay amongst themselves, but they also know Burmese; excepting the Brahmans, they are all Indo-Chinese in blood and language; the Kathay idiom, as spoken by them, is not the Manipuri, but a monosyllabic language related to the Kuki; it is said to be now nearly extinct in Manipur; there also exists a number of old Kathay books amongst them written in a peculiar alphabet which has never been made known or recorded. The Kathay language and literature will form the subject of a separate paper.

We have here to deal with only the Brahmanic portion of the Kathay community. They are Aryan Brahmans from the Ganges; they cultivate the study of Sanskrit; the Grihyasutra directs their domestic rites and ceremonies; they speak Kathay and Burmese, but have entirely forgotten the Aryan vernacular of their forefathers, which appears to have been Hindi.

The Chief Brahman in the Prome district is U Candra known to the Burmans as U Kwun ; the other Brahman families are closely related to him. Their ancestors emigrated in the year A.D. 1602 from Candrapura in Pāṇḍava, Madhya-desa ; they first undertook a pilgrimage to the celebrated idol Jagan-nātha, preserved in a temple in Jagan-nāthakshetra (near Cuttack in Orissa) and then went to Manipura, where they settled ; in A.D. 1783 they were sent, as already stated, as prisoners of war to Amarapura and Prome. U Candra was born in the first-mentioned place, but joined his kinsmen in Prome in 1852. For nearly three centuries these emigrants have lived separately from their parent stock in India and appear not to have since been directly influenced by the later growth and development of Hinduism in India proper. Their surroundings seems to have to some extent modified their original institutions sacerdotal and social ; but they still study and are in all matters, religious and private, guided by the sacred Sanskrit texts which they have brought with them from India, some of which they still possess in the original, while others are copies or translations into the Kathay idiom. The alphabet in which the Sanskrit texts are written approaches very closely the Bengali letters ; some have been transliterated with Kathay letters.

Doctrinally the Brahmans of Prome are Vaishnavas and follow the sect founded by Caitanya, who is regarded as an avatāra of Krishna ; Caitanya was born in Bengal about the year 1484 A.D. ; they recite in his praise a Sanskrit sutra known as the Caitanya mangalam. Their legal code is the Smṛiti Candrā by Śrī Bhavadeva, the author also of the Vyavahāra-tilaka and the Prāyascittaprakaraṇa ; they call the work also Smṛitisāra, but it is not identical with a work of the same name known in India.

In the family of U Candra the study of the Yajurveda and Sāmaveda is hereditary ; but they are in possession of only a small portion of these texts. It is strange that the Brahmans in this province know nothing of the Soma plant, of Soma, and the ceremonies connected with the preparation and consumption of this old-Aryan ambrosial beverage ; they do not drink spirituous liquor of any kind.

I have frequently seen the Brahmans worship at Buddhist temples ; they consider Gotama as one of their deities ; before an image of Buddha they recite the Dasāvātāra, the fifty-sixth chapter of the Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa, which glorifies the 9th incarnation of Vishnu as Buddha. Krishna (Vishnu's 8th avatāra) is their highest god ; they worship him under a thousand



names ; his wife is Sītā, considered as an incarnation of Lakshmi ; but they also allow Sītā to be the wife of Rāmacandra, and there is evidently a confusion here between the 7th (Rāmacandra) and the 8th (Krishna) avatāra of Vishnu, in as far as the names of their respective wives are concerned.

They also invoke Śrī-Gaṇeśa, the god of wisdom and of obstacles, at the commencement of all undertakings. Krishna is once a year perambulated through the town as Jagan-nātha, “the lord of the world.” Images of Krishna, Sītā, Śrī-Gaṇeśa, and Jagan-nātha are preserved in a small temple adjoining the house of the head Brahman in Prome. I was not allowed to enter this sanctuary or to take the images for inspection in my hands ; they themselves always bathe the whole body before going into the temple.

The Gāyatri, beginning with *tat savitur varenyam*, is their most sacred text and recited by them morning, noon, and night ; they call it the Brahma gāyatri and also the Sāvitrī gāyatri, from being addressed to Savitrī, or the sun as generator. But they recite also a number of lesser gāyatrīs addressed to several other deities. But I could gather no further information respecting them, as their religious prejudice will not allow the gāyatrīs to be divulged to non-Brahmans. The Brahmans here are not in the least aware that most of their sacred and secular literature are known in Europe and have been printed. U Candra was fairly shocked on being informed that even the holy gāyatri, which he thought still in the exclusive and secret keeping of the Brahman guru only, could be purchased in printed form in the bookstalls in Europe and India.

Of the Rig-veda and Atharva-veda the Brahmans in Prome know little more than the name ; of Pāṇini and his celebrated system of grammar they profess never to have heard. Sarva-varman's Kalāpa (Katānta) they know only from Burmese (or Sanskrit-Burmese) versions ; this renowned grammar of the Aindra school was introduced in Burma long before their advent in Manipura. Their standard grammatical work is the Sarasvatī-vyākaraṇa with its tīka ; they also claim to study Vopadeva's Mugdha-bodha, which is the grammar generally used in Eastern Bengal ; but I have not been able to procure a copy of this work ; they possess a Gaṇadhātu, which appears to be an enumeration of verbal roots or primary elements of words. The dictionary called Muktāvalī and the grammar Sārasvata prakriyā are known to them by name at least.

The poet Kālidāsa the Brahmans and Burmans connect correctly with the Court of Vikramāditya ; but they appear not

even to have heard the names of the most celebrated works of this poet, namely, the *Sakuntalā*, *Vikramorvasi*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Megha-dūta*, and *Nalodaya*. U Candra is, however, positive in the assertion of Kālidāsa being the author of the *Hitopadesa*, the *Raghu-vamśa*, *Candravamśa*, and *Sūrya-vamśa*. It may be mentioned here that nearly all Kāmasāstras, Strī-sāstras, and many medical and astrological works translated from the Sanskrit into Burmese, generally profess to have a Kālidāsa for their author. It appears that the Brahmans here have derived their notions of Kālidāsa and his works from the Burmans, who had received their knowledge of this author from other Indian sources.

Questioning U Candra about the Siddhāntas, he mentioned the names of the six Siddhāntas, beginning with the *Sūrya*, in that order in which they are enumerated in India. But he possesses the *Sūryasiddhānta* only in a Burmese and a Sanskrit-Burmese version ; in the latter the Sanskrit text is written with Burmese letters. Besides the *Sūryasiddhānta*, the Brahman mentioned the following astronomical works as having formerly been in their possession : the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, *Siddhānta-garbha*, *Siddhānta-candrikā*, *Siddhānta-cintāmani*, and *Siddhānta-muktāvalī*. I obtained a copy of a *Nakshatra Iyotisha*.

The two epics, *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*, they possess only in fragments, and these are all translations into Kathay.

It is worthy of note that to these Brahmans *Manu* is entirely unknown as a *Hindu lawgiver* ; they are ignorant of the Hindu law literature, and the six different schools of law represented in India ; the *Smṛiti-candrā* is the only code which they possess. They are acquainted with the names of the eighteen *Purānas*. I found portions of the *Padma-purāna*, *Brahma-purāna*, *Bhaviṣya-purāna*, *Bhāgavata-purāna*, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna*, *Agni-purāna*, and the *Vishnu-purāna*. Of the *Nītis* they study the *Nītisāra*, the *Dhammanīti*, *Lokanīti*, and *Rājanīti*.

The following Sanskrit manuscripts have been procured :—

No. 1.—*Amarasinha's Sanskrit Dictionary* known as the *Amarakosha* ; copied from a palm-leaf manuscript ; bound in one volume, 245 pages ; Sanskrit text in Burmese characters. A Burmese translation of this work was prepared in *Amara-pura* at the close of last century by the priest *Dhammasenapati*.

No. 2.—*Caitanya Mangalam* ; 9 leaves ; 15—18 lines per page ; country paper.



No. 3.—Smṛiti-candrā by Srī Bhavadeva ; country paper ; 55 leaves ; 9 lines to the page.

No. 4.—Lokaṇīti ; 7 leaves ; 9 lines to the page ; country paper.

No. 5.—Bhāgavata Purāna, dasama skandha ; the tenth chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāna ; written on bark ; 70 leaves ; 6—8 lines per page.

No. 6.—Nakshatra Iyotiṣa ; an astronomical work ; country paper ; 14 pages on parabaik ; 12—13 lines per page.

Nos. 7, 8, 9.—Three different books on one parabaik ; 20 pages, 8—10 lines to the page ; Marjana (?), Gṛhatāsthapana (?), Pañcādevatāt.

No. 10.—Prāyascitta Vinirṇaya (?) ; country paper ; 8 leaves ; 13 lines on a page.

No. 11.—Garbhagitā ; 14 palm-leaves ; 7 lines to the page.

No. 12.—Lokaṇīti, 11 palm leaves ; 7 lines to page.

No. 13.—A fragment of the Garuda Purāna (?) ; 6 leaves on parabaik ; 12—13 lines to page.

No. 14.—Bhagavad gīta ; 6 leaves country paper ; 9 lines to the page ; not complete.

No. 15.—Mahābhāgavata purāna, prathama skandha. The first chapter of the Mahābhāgavata, containing 140 gathas ; 6 leaves, country paper ; 11 lines to page.

No. 16.—Sarasvatī Vyākaraṇa : a grammatical work ; 69 leaves, country paper, 6—10 lines to page.

No. 17.—A portion of the Yajurveda ; 45 palm-leaves ; 8 lines to page ; old ; no date.

No. 18.—Premabhakti (Vṛindāvana-varṇana ?) ; 25 palm-leaves ; 6 and 7 lines to page : it treats of Krishna as Gopala, and appears to be a chapter of the Padma-purāna.

Nos. 19, 20, 21.—Three small treatises, known as *Guruvandana*, *Krishna vandana* and *Srīmatirādhikā vandana* ; 22 palm-leaves ; 6 and 7 lines to page.

No. 22.—Sraddha karma ; 32 leaves, country paper ; 8 lines to page ; appears to belong to the Sāmaveda literature.

No. 23.—Sāmaveda, a portion of ; it is called by the Brahmans here “ Dasadharmā ; ” as the verses are said to be addressed to Agni, the work constitutes probably the first twelve dasatis ; 60 leaves, country paper ; 7 and 8 lines per page.

No. 24.—Ganadhātu, a grammatical work ; 7 leaves, country paper ; 10 lines to page.

No. 25.—Sṛī Rūci, called so by U Candra ; it appears to be a chapter of the Markāndeya-purāna ; 6 leaves, country paper ; 8 lines to page.



Nos. 26, 27, 28, and 29 contain four treatises ; the first is the Shodasa mantra, pronounced by the Brahmans in Prome at the Agni sacrifice (one separate leaf ; 18 lines in all). The other three are called Devaprānālika (?), Guruprānālika, and Harinam (?) ; it contains also the Gāyatri ; 14 pages parabaik ; 8 lines to page ; these four texts are very sacred to the Brahmans.

No. 30.—Sārādve, an astronomical work based on the Sūryasiddhānta ; used by Burmans and Brahmans ; 39 leaves parabaik ; 14 lines to page. Sanskrit (in Burmese characters) with a Burmese translation.

As already pointed out, the Prome Brahmans (they are called Punnas by the Burmans) know not even the name of a Hindu lawgiver called *Manu*. The Burmese Manudharmasāstras they consider to be of indigenous growth. It can hardly be admitted as probable that if the Institutes of Manu had had any existence, prevalency, or binding force in the original home (*Pandava* in *Madhyadesa*) of these Brahmans, at the close of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, they would have failed to preserve his “ordinances,” or at least the remembrance of the name. A view expressed by Sir H. S. Maine in his “Early Law and Custom” may aptly be quoted here : “It is,” he says, “just beginning to be perceived that at the end of the last century large masses of the Hindu population had not so much as heard of Manu, and knew little or nothing of the legal rules supposed to rest ultimately on his authority. There are few, if any, references to Manu in the Sanskrit literature other than the legal treatises.”

The common ancestor, from time immemorial, of the Brahman family of which U Candra is the head is the mythical Kāsyapa, or at least a Kāsyapa ; the members of this family are joined by genuine consanguinity ; they hold all property in common, and live together in a common dwelling. The eldest male member is “the lord of the house” in the religious and legal sense of the Hindu grihapati. U Candra and his eldest son are married ; the two families live in one house together with their still unmarried brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, nephews and nieces. On the death of the father the anrasa son steps into his place ; he does not inherit the father’s property, but only the position of administrator of the joint family estate, of grihapati and further supporter of the family. Their law of inheritance is simple : if the anrasa son wishes to found a separate household during the lifetime of the

father, they may divide the joint family property equally between them, excepting, however, the personal belongings of the female members of the house, the utensils used by the father in his function as priest, and such property as belong jointly to the related Brahmanic families. But such a division would be resorted to only under the most pressing circumstances: the aurasa thereby forfeits succession to the functions and dignities of his father; a younger brother will in the father's family move to the position of an aurasa. U Candra maintains that if a married son should wish to establish a separate household he can only claim the actual money value of half the family property, but that the family estate remains undivided; if, for instance, the estate is estimated at Rs. 1,000, the head of the family must, in case of separation, give half of that sum to the aurasa son, who then leaves the house with only so much of the joint family property as suffices to cover his nakedness, *i.e.*, with one suit of clothes. If daughters or younger sons marry and leave the family, they receive so much from the family fund as the head of the family thinks fit to give in the shape of money; the estate, however, is not parcelled out but retained undivided for that male member who is to succeed as grihapati. The Punnas maintain tenaciously the indivisibility of the joint family estate.

The woman's peculiar property, called strīdhan, is made up of gifts given by her parents, relations, or friends during her infancy and virginhood; such property falls, after her death, to the heritage of her eldest daughter, as also those ornaments which were given to her mother at the time of her nuptials. But money (or livestock) given her at her marriage belongs jointly to her and her husband. If sons or daughters not married wish to leave the joint family of their own free will they are treated as reprobates, and forego their right to maintenance and inheritance. The female members of the Brahman families are Aryans and pure caste women; the Brahmans marry only within their own caste, otherwise they lose their caste. Occasionally they contract Gandharva marriages with Burmese damsels; which does not result in loss of caste, in this case the latter does not occupy the position of a second or lesser wife; she is in no case admitted into the family, and can urge no claims beyond what has been mutually agreed upon by the two parties contracting the marriage; such marriages are rare and inconvenient, as no portion of the family property is allowed to go towards maintenance or compensation of a Gandharva wife or her offspring.

The "appointing of a daughter to raise offspring to her father" is a custom not practised by the Brahmans in Prome. The other castes have freely intermarried with the Burmans; if a Kshatriya marries a Burmese girl, she constitutes with him and their joint offsprings the family; she has been received into the caste and her children are also Kshatriyas. He does not lose caste for having chosen a wife from a casteless people such as the Burmans are; but marrying a woman from another caste the loss of his own caste is the unavoidable result.

The Brahman families in Prome district form an agnatic group; they are kinsmen through the male line; they have a certain amount of common property which can be enjoyed by all, though deposited in the house of their chief Punna; it includes their sacred literature, the temple, and its contents with all the paraphernalia and utensils used in their religious rites and ceremonies. The offerings and fees given to the Brahmans for performing holy rites are divided equally amongst them all. Individually they receive liberal fees whenever their services are required as physicians and astrologers.

A further source of income are the Kshatriya youths, who study for a certain time in the house of a Brahman, and the teacher receives offerings from the pupil in value proportionate to the means of the pupil's parents. The Brahmans instruct their own sons, and the books required pass from one house to another as common property of all.

The Brahman youths, before they are invested with the sacred thread, and the Brahman women dress like the Burmese; the older Brahmans are recognised by the white cord and white dress. They are in reality caste-people only in their own house or among other castes; in all matters secular they conform to the customs, usages, and laws locally prevailing. They are thorough Brahmans without a Manus, the self-existent; and good Hindus without even knowing of the endless pedantic rules observed and ceremonies practised by their co-religionists in India.





# The Eight Parikkayas of the Poongyees.

- 1) Licīvaran̄ or patto or  
Vāsīcībannāman̄ or  
Pū<sup>ss</sup>ī<sup>ss</sup>varan̄ utthādhi  
Yellayyissē Bikkhūso.

The three garments and the just, must  
the razor needle and the girdle  
the water strainer - these are the eight  
possessed by the ascetic, by the monk.

- 2) The Licīvaran̄ or three robes (ti = 3, cīvaran̄ = robe)  
are: a) Saṅghāḥī (Bur. သံဂဟီ စိမ်း) the  
innermost garment.

- b) the antaravāsako (Bur. အင်္တာဝတ်) the  
the principal garment, worn next to the skin.

- c) Uttarāsango (Bur. အုတ်) the upper  
garment, worn over the shoulder.

- 3) Vāsi (Bur. ဝတ်) the razor

- 4) Suci (Bur. သူဇာ) the needle

- 5) patto (Bur. ပတ်) the girdle

- 6) Kāyabandhanam or bandhanam (Bur. ကာယဝတ်) = Kāyagyo the girdle

- 7) Prissāvanam (Bur. ပြိတ်) the water strainer

Nway Shin = Living Vine  
Gordius or Nematoda.

It is found near springs in the water about and some times in other wet places. It has been thrown upon bark under a tree & the next day when the bark was thrown in to the water it had life as now seen. When it is kept for a few days in large quantity of water it has died but it may be too small fly bit it as there were black specks on it in various places. When I put it in a soap suds with just a splash of water it seems like life. The head comes out of the water.

When the creature moves out on the dry skin of the plate & sometimes outside a few inches & then it puts up the little black head and moves about like a large snake and some times crawls back and winds up under. The rest of its coil but I observe the head is seen out. On the tail part there seems to be a black speck some like the head and this is often up out of the water but does not move the whole body like the real head. This creature gets dreadfully lengthened at some times into a knot but if it is put in a little water in 4 or 5 minutes it opens & with a little aid from the finger or a blunt stick it opens out at full length. This is the shortest one I have ever had but I have never seen them with a more buckly body. If you take it with the finger you will find it forms like a real vine. The man who secured it kept it in damp dirt 4 days & then it was kept in a dry jar one night & a half a day in a damp dirt by being



# Salvation of Tam-bu-pati.

This History is called Subversion of King  
S. Bao p. dee. The figure in green costume  
and trappings is Gunduru who assumed this  
form in order to humble and save one of  
earth's proudest Kings called S. Bao p. dee.

This image of Gunduru is called "S. pah.  
Young Piab". (Piab means god) The History  
runs thus. This King was very proud, &  
considered himself the greatest monarch in  
the whole universe. He would not allow any  
human being to stand, or disobey him. One  
night when he saw the moon rising in her  
course, he became greatly excited, & at once gather-  
ed up all of his power, and ascended up in  
a chariot to subdue the moon which was above  
his head. Up & onward he went, & at last  
the moon disappeared, but not daunted he  
went on till he came to a country called  
Yah, Yuh Geo, & the King came out Ping  
Boh. That Yuh Geo was surprised to find  
another real King and a Palace too with  
lofty spires, & golden cupolas, and in his great  
anger he gathered all his strength and  
broke the spire of the Palace, intending

to destroy, but in the effort he did not  
 shake the spire, but injured his foot  
 by the vice & pie. The King still very proud &  
 did all he could to insult this King, so this  
 King went off to procure the aid of a  
 great Priest (Gendurra) The total ruin  
 of the great Fire Machines which were  
 painted at his beautiful Palace, and  
 the great Priest sent water machines  
 which extinguished them at once. When  
 Gendurra the Priest heard most of the  
 pride of King & Buo J. de, he made his  
 plans to humble him, which was by  
 slow degrees, in order to manifest his  
own wonderful power. The creature was  
 not a kind of spirit, & endowed him  
 with some degree of power, in order to  
 carry out his great purpose. This was  
 created a young boy in poor attire  
 who resembled King & Buo J. de just as  
 he was about starting on a journey, seated  
 on the Prince Elephant. The boy ran  
 up & shook the tail and the King fell  
 off, so he was below a Beast, the trial



Christian<sup>3</sup> at Horns, but the boy was  
there, & he could not go. At last he  
stuck up & tried to gather up his scattered  
pride, but ere he knew it, the boy was there  
with a stick & he was obliged to move  
on. As he went, he called one of his  
great generals & in him he trusted  
that he could subdue the boy and show to  
the people of all countries, that he was the  
most powerful monarch. He entered with  
with a degree of pride & trust, but what was  
his surprise, when the people caught his  
general & put him in one of their Rattle  
Bopes, & as he looked well at them he saw  
they were great giants, for their Rattle  
Bopes were large enough to secure his eyes.  
He was then some fearful, but the next  
look the place of the boy & by some unseen  
power he was impelled to go on, & all his  
pride returned as he saw how just he could  
travel - On & on, they went till they  
came in sight of a fine mountain  
& here he had a great desire to descend  
of his own great power, but between him  
& the mountain there was a broad  
glassy like lake. He knew he had power,  
& so told the boat he could swim over



4  
it with ease and down he plunged,  
but alas he made no headway, for it  
was a glass surface, & in his efforts he  
made the black more and more  
trenches and excavated names. When  
the great Priest Gendama heard  
his voice & saw his condition, he  
bade the boat to disappear, & he appeared  
in the cream of jewels & gold apparel (as seen in  
the figure) and at the first sight the poor  
King bowed down and worshipped him  
exclaiming "Thou art greater than I" Then the  
great Priest Gendama perceived him of  
the great sin of repeated pride, and the  
King's heart was melted & he hated his own  
life & without curing in the least for his  
crime he asked for the robes of the Priesthood  
and at once became his devoted follower.

Gendama tells this story as one of his  
dreams tho he is careful not to mention  
his own name. till the close - & then the  
legends say when his audience were  
all in raptures asking where they could find  
this wonderful. This the greatest of all  
Priests there would be a silence, & then Gendama  
would burst out in thunder like tones

"I am that Being" and then

The audience would prostrate them  
selves and swear allegiance to him, and  
up in the 31 places of holy abodes. There  
would be great rejoicing of gods & various  
spirits. At present the Barons often  
give a way to come & repeat these legends.  
Sometimes he breaks forth into a chant  
& if it be in the night when all else is  
still, it has a marvellous power. These  
men are often found from 10 to 15 Paces  
for a night's work. Besides these men  
the scenes of these stories are acted  
at their feasts - & this is why the people

know so much about their Religion.  
Nearly all the history which is trusted  
about every the people are legends of  
their god in some of his most states.

The Burman comes next to the work of the  
Priest rather it is a kind of helper feeder  
to them. The the Buddhist could do not  
allow the Priest to attend they received  
himself attend society. Hence these two  
are held after dark & to keep the Priest from  
temptation they are not attended out of their  
monastery after the sun has gone down.  
People say ye & listen in the monastery  
to the chat of the Priest, but he must not  
go out of his place - The yagones often  
blend out but it is a breach of their rules -

You understand so much of these  
customs that you will have no trouble  
in showing it up and when you are  
you will sometimes think of your  
humble creature Jan 24<sup>th</sup> 1884

This Buddha is called Q&H 003  
(Jambū pati) and represents Godama  
as the ruler supreme of Tambudipa  
(the island Tambu = all India).

### Burmese Medicine Pod \*

The prep which is in the cells  
is impregnated with salt, or  
Lemon juice & eaten for a  
purgative. It will keep about  
one year if not opened. This is about  
3 quarters of its length "Q&H 003"

It is a tall slim tree and has  
leaves some like a Bursera



指雅各之顯榮而誓云、<sup>○</sup>我所爲我永弗忘、地必震動、民必哀號、土壤墳起、忽復下陷、若埃及之河、漲而復退。<sup>○</sup>耶和華曰、當斯時也、我必於亭午、使日沉西、白晝晦冥、遍地不見。<sup>○</sup>古日變爲愁慘之時、謳歌變爲悲傷之語、各束以麻、各薙其髮、終日哀哭、若喪獨子。<sup>○</sup>主耶和華又曰、時日將至、必使斯土之民、如饑如渴、非欲食餅飲水、乃慕耶和華之道、人必遨遊、自湖至海、自北至東、求我耶和華之道、而不能得。<sup>○</sup>當是日、美女壯士、口舌煩渴、喪失其魂。<sup>○</sup>撒馬利亞之民、奉事犢像、而犯罪愆、人反指之而誓曰、但之上帝永生、別是巴之上帝永生、故必殞亡、永不振興。

**第九章** 主立於壇側、我覩之、聞其詞曰、擊柱頂、震門櫺、俱當損毀、壓於衆首、衆之子孫、我必加誅戮、逃匿者無人得免者、無人。<sup>○</sup>雖入陰府、我必取之、雖升天堂、我將降之、雖匿於加密之巔、我將搜而出之、雖藏於大海之底、我必使蛟螭之。<sup>○</sup>雖爲敵所擄、我必使刃殺之、我恆鑒察、爾惟加以災害、不加以福祉、我萬有之主耶和華、擊斯土之民、使之喪膽、哀哭不已、土壤墳起、若埃及之河、漲而復退、我作明宮於天、鑿幽谷於地、使海水泛濫於天下、厥名耶和華。<sup>○</sup>耶和華又曰、以色列族乎、我豈不能待爾、若古實人乎、昔我導以色列族出埃及、亦導非利士人自鴿托、導亞蘭人自吉地、耶和華又曰、斯民犯罪、



[illegible]

# Burmese Ladies' Powder Stone.

1-

I have collected 34 kinds of wood for you  
They should be smoothed a bit but these  
men could not do it well

The bats are marked and numbered also  
so you can get some one to give you  
the names but the name of each one will  
not be found in Johnson's Dictionary when  
he was not sure it is put down "certain  
kind of wood". If I get more before you  
go I will send them. I send you a medicine

\* Food. It is a purgative. I have put in  
I meet in Mrs. Childs Lidy. It may not  
be curious to you but I never saw them  
in any place the Muscivores had this  
species in the South. I hung it up and  
it lived a few days off a another stick  
but one night it came back to the old  
dry branch and a few days after I  
found it was dead. a real little monster  
Some make their house of leaves & some  
of grass. I have seen 3 different kinds

Tell me if it is a curiosity to you  
& then I will keep them for you - I  
have not found any birds eggs or the  
other kind yet but expect I shall  
I send you the stone which the Larva men

<sup>2</sup>  
Ladies use a bit of the Bark-yambetta  
get some in Bencoolen. They plunge the  
bark one end, into water & then rub it on the  
stone & then they rub this paste on their face  
neck & arms. After ten times they rub a little paste  
and then wash with their fingers or hands, and  
& rub it on their person so that they use it  
up as fast as they make the paste and  
then uh! behold the cream-like face which  
is the delight of those people. Sometimes  
they rub in with this, a fragrant mass of  
some kind. This kind of toilet is usually  
done in the evening & the paste kept in all  
night but they often put it on by light when  
they dress for the day. It cures the pores  
of the skin and they look well at 25-  
if they do not continue this lavatory.

This stone is a small one & used even  
when they travel. They often paint the lips,  
and color the eye brows. Tho the Buremans  
have pretty good hair, most of them use  
some fake hair, not only the women. but  
the young gentlemen, & some middle aged  
men. who wish to make an impression  
on the gentlemen.































